Vol. XXVII. No. 107 *September 1938*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Daniel O'Connell and the Gaelic Past *Michael Tierney*
II. Comments on the foregoing Article
Daniel A. Binchy *Gerard Murphy*
John Ryan *Sean O Faolain*
III. Saint Andrew Bobola .. .. *Herbert Thurston*
IV. Report of the Banking Commission *Edward J. Coyne*
V. The New Kulturkampf in Germany *Mary M. Macken*
VI. Alberta under Aberhart .. .. *Henry Somerville*
VII. The Millenary of Pope Sylvester II *George O'Neill*
VIII. Medieval University of S. Patrick's, Dublin *Aubrey Gwynn*
IX. The Future of Agriculture in Ireland *E. J. Sheehy*
X. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 47 .. *Lambert McKenna*
XI. Europe over China .. .. *Thomas Fleming*
XII. Recent French Literature .. *Virginia M. Crawford*
XIII. Reviews of Books

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PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR.
ALFRED TENISON COLLINS.
CHARLES MARTIN O'KELLY.
HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of July, 1938.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1938, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£39,604	8 7
To which has to be added :—		
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,849	18 6
	£67,454	7 1
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—		
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0 0
To next Account	27,454	7 1
	£67,454	7 1

The Reserve Fund now stands at £730,000.

By Order of the Board,
HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 11*th July*, 1938.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1938. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	
,, Reserve Fund	730,000 0 0	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		
Less: Held by the Bank ... 48,132 0 0		
	501,868 0 0	
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,096,961 1 11	
,, Sundry Agents	50,469 8 0	
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,791 17 5	
,, Profit and Loss Account ...£67,454 7 1		
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0		
	57,454 7 1	
	£11,941,544 14 5	

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,054,509 19 2	
,, Investments, viz.:—		
War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per Contra) ...	4,271,390 6 0	
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	302,992 16 8	
	5,628,893 1 10	
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,140,693 8 9	
,, Sundry Agents	6,353 6 1	
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	165,604 17 9	
	£11,941,544 14 5	

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1938.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	117,560 16 11	By Balance from last Account ...	27,849 18 6
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	157,165 5 6
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1938, subject to deduction of £ s. d. Income Tax ... 30,000 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,454 7 1			
	57,454 7 1		
	£185,015 4 0		£185,015 4 0

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1938, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 11th July, 1938.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
CHARLES H. O'CONOR,
CHARLES M. O'KELLY,
} *Directors.*

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VOL. XXVII No. 107

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1938

CONTENTS

			Page
I.	DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE GAELIC PAST	*Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.*	353
II.	COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE ...	... ...	368
	Professor Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., Ph.D.	*Gerard Murphy, M.A.*	
	John Ryan, S.J., D.Litt.	*Sean O Faolain*	
III.	SAINT ANDREW BOBOLA	... *Herbert Thurston, S.J.*	381
IV.	REPORT OF THE BANKING COMMISSION ...	... *Edward J. Coyne, S.J.*	394
V.	THE NEW KULTURKAMPF IN GERMANY ...	*Professor Mary M. Macken, M.A.*	407
VI.	ALBERTA UNDER ABERHART	... *Henry Somerville, M.A.*	415
VII.	THE MILLENARY OF POPE SYLVESTER II	... *George O'Neill, S.J.*	425
VIII.	THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY OF S. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN	*Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*	437
IX.	THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE IN IRELAND	... *E. J. Sheehy, D.Sc.*	455
X.	SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS—47 ...	... *Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	467
XI.	EUROPE OVER CHINA—AND THE CONSEQUENCES	... *Thomas Fleming, S.J.*	473
XII.	RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE	... *Virginia M. Crawford*	487
XIII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS :		

Introduction to the Study of Ascetical and Mystical Theology, 490.—The Three Ways of the Spiritual Life, 490.—Ordeals of Souls, 490.—Anthology of Mysticism, 490.—Matthew, Mark and Luke, 492.—La Résurrection des Villes mortes, 494.— Sa Sainteté Pie XI, 496.—Pope Pius XI, 496.—Pope Pius XI and World Peace, 496.—La Personnalité littéraire de Newman, 498.—Theodora, Impératrice de Byzance, 499.—Anne Comnène, 500.—The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle, 501.—Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in New Spain, 503.—The Dissident Eastern Churches, 504.—The Golden Book of Eastern Saints, 504.—1745 and After, 506.—Cross and Swastika, 509.—History of the Popes, 510.—Dublin Old and New, 511.—The Augustinians, 512.—Austria and After, 514.—History and Religion, 515.—High Points of Medieval Culture, 515.—The Last Lords of Ormond, 517.—The Voyage to Illyria, 518.—The Catholic Doctor, 520.—Précis de Médecine catholique, 520.—Race, 522.—La Population allemande, 523.—And Nothing Long, 524.—Geography in the Middle Ages, 526.—The Romans in Britain, 526.—Regards catholiques sur le Monde, 527.

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POLITICS AND CULTURE: DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE GAELIC PAST

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY.

THOSE engaged on the task of providing an Irish rendering for the abundant products of our legislative activity are familiar with the disconcerting scarcity of native words to correspond with the most ordinary concepts of modern politics. There is a lesson to be derived from the reflection that, for all our long fever of nationality, we have no Irish word for "nation." Somehow or other historians, attempting to fit our peculiarities into accepted categories, have managed to blur for us the instructive contrast that must be drawn between medieval Ireland and the Ireland of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In spite of all that has been written about the Gaelic State, the strict truth is that no such thing, in any valid sense of the term, has ever existed. And in spite of our modern preoccupation with Gaelic culture, only those who care little for the meaning of what they say can apply the phrase to anything very living or effective in Ireland at present. In Irish history, State and culture have been like the extremes of contradiction. The middle ages possessed the culture, but they neither had nor wanted particularly to have the State. We have the State and are justifiably proud of it, so proud that we sometimes expect it to do duty for everything; but Gaelic culture is with us a romantic dream or a crudely-formed aspiration towards something that we either cannot effectually grasp or would not care much for if we could.

The historical effects of this strange contrast are easily seen in relation to the medieval period, but our self-complacency, it is to be feared, rather disguises them in relation to ourselves. In the middle ages the Normans penetrated physically into almost every part of Ireland and held large areas for a long time by force; but culturally they were

absorbed into the Irish mass with startling rapidity and completeness, so that some of the greatest names in Irish literature are those of Gaelicised foreigners. We read of this absorption with satisfaction and accept it so readily as to miss its significance. In modern times the pendulum has swung astonishingly the other way; and again, I think, we hardly appreciate the mystery of events. The English have been physically and forcibly extruded from four-fifths of the country; but this extrusion has coincided with a continuously-intensified process of Irish subjection to English culture, in the course of which the Gael has almost disappeared from the world. There is surely little doubt but that the two contradictory extremes are in some way inter-connected. It was not an accident that the emergence of the political nation in the nineteenth century coincided with the decay and gradual disappearance of the native ways of thought, life, and expression, any more than it was an accident that in the middle ages the Gaelic power of cultural absorption coincided with a calamitous failure to create or even conceive the idea of a Gaelic State.

The medieval failure is a matter for diagnosis by historians; the full understanding of the causes for the modern failure is the urgent task of all who are concerned about the future of civilised life in Ireland. In both cases the terms of the problem involved must be clearly grasped before there is any chance of a successful solution. One of the greatest disabilities of present-day thought in general is an obsession with politics and economics, studied in isolation from broader and deeper issues. This obsession has its roots in the mentality of nineteenth-century England, and has helped enormously to distort Irishmen's views on their own peculiar history. The complaint is frequently heard that earlier Irish history in particular is an unintelligible jumble of meaningless battles and insignificant dynastic changes, now and again lit up by a glare of inappropriate heroics. One reason for this complaint is that Irish history is essentially non-political and non-economic in character and will not fit easily into these irrelevant modern categories. The same fact has recently been observed

about the history of Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Nineteenth-century historians, with all their learning and skill, often deprived their readers of ability to understand these distant ages by their insistence on searching in them for the play of purely nineteenth-century forces. Thus it was against their reason, so to speak, that able scholars admitted any significance in so great a poet as Pindar, because he wrote about chariot-races and boxing-matches in an idiom and style that eluded modern criteria. Until very recently almost all of them felt about Pindar what Voltaire had openly said :

> " Toi, qui modulas savamment
> Des vers que personne n' entend
> Et qu' il faut toujours qu'on admire."

It would be easy to find examples of the same lack of appreciation as applied to the very similar Irish court-poetry of the middle ages.

In order to get a real understanding of Irish history down at least to the Elizabethan period, it should be studied, not from the familiar modern dynamic aspect with its emphasis on evolution, progress, political and economic change, but rather as a comparatively static culture or cultural series. That changes occurred, no one will of course deny ; but they were of a different kind and followed a different rhythm from those we look for in modern states. It was the static element that gave its characteristic note to Gaelic civilisation, and we are struck again and again even in the present-day Gaeltacht with the extraordinary persistence of very ancient ways of thought. The true analogy with Ireland—on an entirely different scale of magnitude and value, it need not be said—is to be seen in the great cultures of the Far East like India and China, where again the European historian finds it bewilderingly difficult to apply his politico-economic standards. We are accustomed to a certain contempt for these static cultures, but it is an obvious error to apply the derogatory term " backward " indiscriminately to them all. In recent times everything is " backward " that is not up to the latest American standards of industrial complexity and financial

chaos. The epithet has been widely used by Marxist writers in describing pre-revolutionary Spain, a fact which taken by itself should put us on our guard against such facile condemnation.

Indeed the very facility with which we accept these strictures on a country like Spain is itself the measure of our distance from Gaelic culture. We normally find it almost impossible not to attach to commerce, industry and finance the importance acquired by them in modern England since the overthrow of the Stuarts, or to realise that it was partly against these very powers and the mentality from which they emanated that the Stuart battle was fought and lost. A great many of the criticisms levelled by historians like Richey against the social conditions of medieval Ireland, or even by a magnificent imaginative writer like Standish O'Grady against those of the Elizabethan period, are valid only as coming from and addressed to the same mentality. We do not normally analyse the origin of our ideas, least of all those which are so pervasive as to have become prejudices. In a healthy and vital condition of society such analysis is undesirable and almost impossible. But in present-day Ireland, with its rather terrifying cultural necessities and tasks, and in a period when external influences of all kinds have mingled in our education as never before since the world began, it is very important for us to sort out our ideas and prejudices, find where they have come to us from, and how far they are mutually consistent.

The distressing result of such an inquiry would quite certainly be the discovery that, outside a limited field devoted to religion, our present-day Irish culture is not by any means of Gaelic origin but almost entirely Puritan and English. Even in the religious field the unnoticed influence of Puritanism on our Catholic practice has been astonishingly powerful. Very many of our commonest prejudices, for example, about the relations between employer and employed or about the validity of moral restraints in business methods, have come to us from the long-developed commercial morality of England. We are accustomed to the accusation of Jansenism from our younger writers, but we never hear of our much more thorough

subjection to Puritan ideas. These ideas, of course, have by now had a long history and have gone through many phases. Not merely have they formed the nucleus of English morality, but through the medium of Voltaire and Rousseau they have also supplied most of the doctrinal background for revolutionary France. From France the same ideas often have returned to England, and in one of these reappearances they produced, through the English philosophic radicals, a very powerful movement which combined individualism, utilitarianism and belief in progress into a single stream of thought and action. This last manifestation of Puritanism was the dominant English philosophy of the past century, and its effects have been widespread and little short of catastrophic.

The " moral chemistry " of the Utilitarians, worked out into a system by self-educated members of the English middle-class, was in its essence a denial of traditional culture. On one side it was an English version of French eighteenth-century rationalism ; on the other it fitted into the " dogmatic and austere religion " endemic in England since the Reformation. Although in itself highly anti-religious, it reinforced tendencies already powerful among the numerous sects into which English Protestantism was divided. There were many reactions against Utilitarianism as the nineteenth century wore on, especially when the influence of German philosophy made itself felt, and nowadays it has few intellectual champions. But it corresponded so intimately with the English character and with the circumstances of the age that it gradually came to pervade all English civilisation—and through its expansion that of the whole Western world. Even yet educated men are hardly sufficiently conscious of its connection as a powerful determining cause with the universal modern downfall of taste, not only in architecture, sculpture, painting, music and literature, but in furniture, dress, and all the minor arts of life. Everyone admits that the taste of the late Victorian epoch, when Utilitarianism had reached the peak of its power, was horrible ; but it is not so evident that the horror had a very definite doctrinal origin, nor that it has persisted in the artistic and cultural anarchy which we find so bewildering to-day.

Protests against Utilitarianism have taken many forms, from Carlyle's apocalyptic worship of the Hero to Matthew Arnold's denunciation of the Philistines and the aestheticism of the pre-Raphaelite school. In recent times the reaction has hardened into a cult of self-expression and anarchy and a belief in revolt for its own sake. Nowadays many writers and artists have elevated revolt into a law of general validity without being very particular about what they are in revolt against or the direction their revolt is taking. Unfortunately all these tendencies, however one may sympathise with their motives, represent only the working-out in new conditions of the same forces as produced Utilitarianism over a century ago. They, like it, spring from the innate tendency of English Puritanism to rebel against the ancient European tradition. All that has happened is that an end has come to the period when they could unite with triumphant commercial and industrial expansion. If they are often found associated with a more or less conscious bias towards communism, that is only because the latter is itself the logical term, the *telos* towards which modern commerce and industry seem inevitably to lead. Karl Marx reviled Jeremy Bentham as " the insipid, pedantic, leather-tongued oracle of the commonplace bourgeois intelligence of the nineteenth century," and as being among philosophers what Martin Tupper is among poets. Yet it is significant that Bentham's disciple, John Stuart Mill, became in his later years a distant prophet of communism, just as Marx himself owed a great debt to Bentham's earlier disciple, Ricardo.

Here in Ireland our revolt for the past half-century or so has been against what we usually call Anglicisation. By this term, if we mean anything, we surely mean the whole complex of Puritan and Utilitarian anti-culture, the principal vehicle of which among us is of course the English language. It is, however, a great mistake, into which we too readily fall, to suppose that we have to deal only with a linguistic problem. Our whole life is long since organised on such a purely Utilitarian basis that a mere change of language might now have hardly any real effect at all on our cultural position. The difficulty

in which we find ourselves is only made more apparent by the belief that the Gaelic cause is advanced when H. G. Wells, Bram Stoker and the latest American song-numbers are translated into the Irish language. Our customary weapons against Anglicisation are either the purely linguistic zeal which considers it immaterial what we read or say so long as we read or say it in Irish, or else a combination of this zeal with extreme democratic nationalism. Nobody can doubt the power of this combination, which after all has been responsible for Easter Week and the Treaty of 1921, but we may perhaps be justified in remarking that its more recent explosions into civil war and bitter party division have been much less beneficial. As time has gone on, interest in the Irish language has tended to become more and more purely linguistic, while the nationalist side of the combination has grown more superficial, more a matter of slogans and propaganda and less a matter of historically-based conviction than ever before.

The truth is that political nationalism in itself, while it may be an excellent weapon against English government, cannot by its very nature be of any use as a weapon against Anglicisation. There are two reasons for this: first, the obvious one that you cannot quarry rocks with razors; and second, the less widely-realised fact that nationalism, even in Ireland, is itself for the most part a thing of English origin. Its real home is the Dublin of the Ascendancy, and almost all its heroes belonged to the type of Ascendancy younger sons, men who for one reason or another could not fit into the system and who in thoroughly Puritanical style revolted against it, and brought a reinforcement of English and French radical ideas to justify and strengthen their revolt. No one has yet written the history of the Ascendancy impartially, setting it clearly and fairly against its strange background of native Ireland. Lecky in his great work simply ignored the problem by assuming that the Ascendancy, with its limited Parliament and its aristocratic transplantation of English culture, was something inevitable, needing explanation neither as to its origin nor as to its extraordinary development. In

the end of the eighteenth century the grievances of the Ascendancy and those of the natives were fused together to make as baffling and variegated a pattern as ever history had to show. From this curious, incomplete, and shifting fusion was born the Irish nation, to describe which there was naturally no word in the ancient native language of Ireland. It was an unfortunate but inevitable consequence of its origin that nationalism could make wholly its own neither the vigorous Protestant culture of the Ascendancy nor the far older native Gaelic culture which Ascendancy had pushed out of its way and to which the new political impetus of the people helped to give the last blow.

Into the vacuum thus created there came the new Utilitarian ideas of the radical English middle-class, which entered on its final triumphant struggle for political power shortly after the Union. There was a natural kinship between these ideas and those of the Anglo-Irish in revolt against their own Ascendancy. Both alike owed a great deal to the *philosophes* who during the eighteenth century had given a French colouring to English Puritanical thought. The transition from Godwin and Tom Paine to Jeremy Bentham and James Mill was only a little more obvious than the kinship between Henry Grattan and Wolfe Tone. On the native Irish side also the way had been long prepared for the double *rapprochement* with the left wing of the Ascendancy and with English radicalism. The Stuart collapse had left the Gael politically and socially rudderless ; his own traditions were despised and his language, after over a thousand years of classical cultivation, had acquired the stigma of illiteracy. As the pressure of the Penal Laws was gradually lightened, the earliest beneficiaries were those among the native Irish who had money to lend to the extravagant palace-builders of the Ascendancy. It is noteworthy that the first attempt to relieve Catholics was Monck Mason's abortive Bill of 1761, permitting them to invest money in mortgages upon land, and that the most effective Catholic leader before O'Connell was the Dublin business-man, John Keogh. The native aristocracy, long the central representatives of Gaelic culture, were scattered over the Continent, while

their kinsmen at home had for the most part sunken to destitution. O'Connell was the man who, by his unique genius, effectively combined the Catholicism of the common people with the new nationalism which had developed in Ascendancy circles; and O'Connell, while by birth and early education a member of the old Gaelic aristocracy, was by training and mental outlook a middle-class professional man.

The real foundations of nationalism in its modern form were laid by O'Connell. Since his time it has been immensely strengthened by the incipient Gaelic revival movement, but apart from this its essential characteristics have continued to lie in the operation upon the Catholic multitude of ideas derived from the Protestant nationalism of the eighteenth century. Before O'Connell's time there was no political focus for the common people, once the Stuart cause was lost, except the fires of this Protestant nationalism—fed as to its more extreme elements from revolutionary France. O'Connell first gave the well-to-do Catholics political power and afterwards won the whole people, almost against their wills, for the Repeal of the Union. Before his death Repeal was already beginning, in the name of Federalism, to take the form it afterwards assumed as Home Rule. It was only gradually that Irish democracy, as we know it today, emerged with the widespread extension of the suffrage. This took place, not through any Irish effort, but in virtue of the link, forged by O'Connell and still strong today, between Irish nationalism and English radicalism. Middle-class liberalism, manhood suffrage, and the Land Acts, have between them created an Ireland as different as anything could well be from the Ireland which slowly but inexorably collapsed between the battle of Kinsale and the Treaty of Limerick.

In a very readable and eloquent book,[1] described as "A Life of Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator, in a Study of the Rise of modern Irish Democracy," Mr. Seán Ó Faoláin has given us a most important new interpretation of O'Connell's part in this strange development. He has done a very valuable service in going to the roots of our present society and

[1] *King of the Beggars.* By Seán Ó Faoláin. London: Nelson. 1938. 12/6 net.

compelling us to study and ponder on our destiny as a people. In many ways the future of our political, social, and educational systems must depend on whether or not we agree with what he has said about the significance of O'Connell. At present we seem to be at a resting-point where one perilous stage of our journey is completed, and we are rather uncertain which way to turn next. The great importance of Mr. Ó Faoláin's book is that he offers us, in the guise of a study of O'Connell, very definite advice at the crucial moment of choice. His judgment is by no means hasty, superficial, or based upon a one-sided conception of his subject. It is clearly the fruit of mature thought and patient investigation, and is put forward with intense conviction as to its soundness. Yet it seems, in view of our present uncertain position, to be in several respects perverse and apt to mislead. To say this is not by any means to condemn or dispraise his book or to minimise the profit to be derived from a careful reading of it. Mr. Ó Faoláin is in many ways a pioneer in this work of historical interpretation, and is entitled to the full rights conferred by his own thoroughness and integrity. Even if we are forced to disagree with him, he has much to teach us, not least the need and the capacity to exercise our own judgment upon the case as he presents it and its lessons for ourselves.

His book is rather an effort at imaginative evocation than a biography in the ordinary sense. It must not therefore be pedantically criticised for inaccuracies like "*Eóin* Rua Ó Súileabháin," or the attribution to Plunket of a famous outburst of "Humanity Dick" Martin's on Ponsonby, or the suggestion that Alvanley and not Disraeli was the "heir to the impenitent thief on the cross" of O'Connell's diatribe. The method of the novelist naturally lends itself to exaggerations in colouring, and there is no doubt but that Mr. Ó Faoláin exaggerates both the wretchedness of eighteenth century Ireland and the imbecility of O'Connell's last year of life. The closing pages of the book suggest a painter of the Spanish school, with their ever-deepening gloom illuminated by flashes of more and more riotous folly. All this, however, only means that Mr. ÓFaoláin has found a subject to his taste and has

made the most of his opportunities. He has allowed himself rather unnecessarily to go deeply into the question of O'Connell's Deism,[1] only to prove that it is a question not really amenable to his manner of treatment. That he has succeeded admirably in giving a brilliantly vivid sketch of Ireland in O'Connell's lifetime as well as a realistic portrait of the Liberator himself, omitting none of the faults which were as salient as his virtues, and coming as near as writing can do to making the " wonderful, mighty, jovial, and mean old man " live again for us, all his readers will enthusiastically agree. It is because of the very qualities of the book that what may perhaps be called Mr. Ó Faoláin's principal thesis needs to be carefully criticised. There is a certain danger of our being carried away by the brilliance of his literary power into consenting to a view of Irish history which, if it were to be widely accepted, might be disastrous, especially at the present time.

The central problem of O'Connell's life is no longer his passionate devotion to moral force, which so shocked Mitchel and the Fenians and provoked Meagher's well-known flight of eloquence. That devotion may or may not have been an aberration ; as we look back upon it across the interval filled by the Black and Tans, the 1916 Rebellion, and the Land Wars, we need hardly think that its effects were very deep or lasting. What is still of vital importance is his attitude towards, or rather entire lack of understanding or sympathy for, the Gaelic past of Ireland of which he was himself so strangely the physical though not the intellectual product. His lifetime was perhaps the decisive period in which the old native language and tradition were consigned to oblivion over the greater part of the country. If he in his youth, a Catholic gentleman sprung from an ancient and purely Gaelic stock, had been inspired by the ideas that afterwards were to move the Protestant Davis, descendant of Welsh planters, and educated in Trinity College, there is little doubt but that Ireland might still be Gaelic-speaking and in possession of its

[1] For which consult Mr. C. Curran's article in *Studies* for March 1929. Mr. Curran's conclusions are unlikely to be reversed or altered.

native traditional culture—changed perhaps, but still vital and of inestimable value for the future.

There are many considerations which explain O'Connell's failure to see the importance of the Irish language, in spite of the fact that unlike most of the Young Irelanders he could speak it fluently. He was, as Lecky has said, a student of men, not of books, a man of action, not a man of letters, and in his time historical knowledge was at a low ebb after the long triumph of rationalism and during the heyday of mechanical and industrial progress. It is not accurate either to praise or to blame him as the sole agent of the Gaelic collapse, whatever be one's point of view. Long before his active career began, Gaelic had been left behind by the rapid changes of the world, and he could only work with instruments that seemed to his mind effective. His preoccupations were first law, then politics, and last economics. Towards Gaelic he was not merely quiescent but almost actively hostile. When Anthony O'Connell, just about the time of Emancipation, brought him the manuscript dictionary compiled by his uncle Peter O'Connell of Clare, O'Curry tells us how " he suddenly dismissed him, telling him that his uncle was an old fool to have spent so much of his life on so useless a work." This was in fact probably the attitude of nearly all educated Irishmen, lay and clerical, at the time. The busy and successful political leader was merely the mouthpiece of public opinion, which very likely had far more effect in killing spoken Irish than had Dr. Whately and the National Schools, to whom later mythology has assigned so deleterious a part.

Mr. Ó Faoláin, in depicting O'Connell as the King of the Beggars, who led his helots out of bondage and created a new Irish democracy on the wreckage of Gaeldom, is entirely uncompromising in his view that the Liberator's attitude towards Irish and all that went with it was sound. His opening chapter is a lively and, to my mind, a wholly wrong-headed account of the Gaelic collapse after Limerick as a background to O'Connell's career. The Gaelic order, he holds, was doomed not merely because it was ineffectual, but because it was the creation and the mainstay of a selfish aristocracy,

never supported by and always hostile to the people. Its poets were the hangers-on at the tables of the great, ready to cadge on any gentleman who would give them a meal, and despising the common folk who were deserted and left to their fate by the Wild Geese. During the eighteenth century the degenerate remnant of the old poetic class continued to keep up a feeble and ridiculous tradition, still hating the people, fawning on the great, their foolish eyes always turned towards an unreal and impossible past. O'Connell deliberately and with full consciousness put an end to all this—" he, at least, had no doubts that Ireland was beginning all over again." The modern Irish people, which he created, is something essentially different from that effete aristocracy " which had equally despised them, had abandoned them on its fall, and had never contributed to their rise." The appeal in our days to the sanction of the Gaelic past is " merely Republicanism . . . faking a tradition for itself independent of, and even contemptuous of, O'Connell's acceptance of the mingled strain of Anglo-Ireland."

Now all this denunciation of Gaeldom as effete and undemocratic is very little more than a rather clever notion of Mr. Frank O'Connor's, who two years ago published a couple of articles on " The Gaelic Tradition in Literature." The charge of being effete merely amounts to a condemnation of something which failed against overwhelming odds. In making it Mr. Ó Faoláin needs to beware of the danger of finding himself, whether he realises it or not, on the side of those

> " whom loud-voiced triumphs acclaim
> Victors against the few."

To condemn Gaeldom as effete because it was unable of its own nature to make headway against the triumphant Puritanism and commercialism of England is to misunderstand it as completely as one would misunderstand Chinese art, literature and society if one were to condemn them for their failure against the commercialism of England and America and the imported Western militarism of Japan. When Mr. Ó Faoláin finds that Gaelic society was " undemocratic," he is

falling into the common error of measuring by English standards, created in the nineteenth century, a form of life to which these standards have no relevance. It would be quite as reasonable to say that Gaelic society could not balance its Budget. O'Connell, with his upbringing and in the circumstances of his time, could not understand the nature of the changes that had taken place before his birth and were entering their final phase during his life. That is no reason why modern intellectuals, with their vastly greater possibilities of knowledge, should applaud his and their misfortune as a consummation devoutly to be wished.

It was not merely circumstances, however, that led O'Connell to take the road he took; his own powerful mind was an originating agent as well. To anyone who reads attentively his letters and speeches, it is clear that he early fell under the intellectual dominance of the Utilitarian philosophy then starting on its victorious march in England. He was the friend of Jeremy Bentham and, even before he became a member of Parliament, was allied with the English Radicals whom Bentham's teaching had inspired. As early as 1825 we find him expressing a theoretical belief in manhood suffrage; he was a convinced Free Trader and an opponent of slavery on principle, and was fond of using Benthamite phrases like "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." His interest in legal reform and in the abolition of capital punishment, his opposition to the Corn Laws, his failure to support efforts to end the abuse of child labour, even his very pacifism, all undoubtedly derive from the same sources. If any one of these interests were isolated, we might put it down to his feelings as an Irishman and a Catholic, but here we are really in presence of a coherent body of doctrine, for much of which Irishmen and Catholics had no necessary sympathy. It may even be a question whether his attitude on duelling, for which Bentham praised and defended him, was not as much the fruit of his Benthamite principles as of his very real Catholicism. Such a coincidence between Catholic morality and the teachings of liberal ideology is not by any means an unknown phenomenon in other cases than his. During

the past century it was in many ways a stumbling-block to Catholic thinkers, as coincidences between their thought and that of Fascism are apt to be today. When we find him actually proffering Utilitarianism as his reason for abandoning Irish, our diagnosis is surely complete. On p. 38 of Mr. Ó Faoláin's book will be found a quotation from one of his speeches, prefixed by another in which he claims to be "a confirmed Benthamite." These are his words: "I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its abandonment (*i.e.* that of Gaelic). It would be a vast advantage to mankind if all its inhabitants spoke the same language . . . The superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of all modern communication, is so great that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of Irish."

The Abbé Dimnet has recently remarked that, if politicians knew more of history, they would make fewer mistakes. O'Connell was clearly not aware that in his commanding position his attitude towards the Gaelic past was condemning his people to that most dreadful of all fates, the awful emptiness of a nation without a history. Mr. Ó Faoláin is likewise unaware of what was and still is at stake. His view is that of the nineteenth-century radical, intent on politics and economics, contemptuous of tradition, oblivious to the fact that tradition is the nurse of art, literature, and all that makes life civilised. Like Michelet, speaking of the middle ages, he says to his readers "oublions et marchons." A century ago the march was towards the world-wide expansion of industry, commerce, and high-finance. Today these things have been found hollow, and we are bidden to face the future with nothing in our hands but the statistical, uncultured, illiberal democracy in which the Utilitarian dream has culminated. Our own past is barred to us, even for our contemplation, as effete and aristocratic. The significance of Mr. Ó Faoláin's book is that it once more raises clearly and frankly the dilemma that inexorably faces modern Ireland. Are we bound to rely for all our culture upon an incongruous mixture of etiolated Catholicism, Puritanical individualism, and commercial utility, or is there no hope of our being able to obtain some light from our vanished Gaelic past to brighten our gloom?

It would be a great pity if any large number of Mr. Ó Faoláin's Irish readers should be led, by a natural irritation with some of the crude and hasty methods now in vogue for reviving the Gaelic language, into concluding as he has done that there is no way out except the choice he presents between a "fake" and the entire rejection of their own history. Democracy is no substitute for culture, and much of what is most precious and of highest quality in past civilisations was in fact the result of their enthusiastic devotion to, and attempt to recover, literary, linguistic, and artistic traditions that were not always genuinely ancestral to them. After all a surprising amount of what adds most to the savour of life even at present has come to us from the obsession of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the languages and cultures of Greece and Rome. How much poorer would be European literature and art if all the consequences of the Renaissance were suddenly to disappear? Yet the Renaissance was far more a "fake" even in Italy, which could lay some claim to continuity with Rome, than the Gaelic revival is in the original home of Gaelic culture, whose political destiny even in our own time has been changed by the half-recovered memory of its ancient "otherness." The real study of Irish history has only begun, that of Irish literature is still in its infancy; we can as yet have only a dim conception of the artistic ideas or even of the social background of the Gaelic order. It is too soon for us to grow impatient, to decide, because of certain errors of tact or procedure, that the whole movement, to which Ireland owes at least as much as she does to O'Connell, was just a foolish mistake, and abandon ourselves to the shadows of democracy and utility. That writers of high intelligence and skill, like Mr. Ó Faoláin and Mr. O'Connor, should give us such advice is, however, a symptom which it would be dangerous to neglect. MICHAEL TIERNEY

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. 1.—BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.

WHETHER or not it was part of the author's intention, not the least of the services performed by Mr. Ó Faoláin's book has been the contro-

versy to which it has given rise. And here it may be well to re-emphasize a fact which emerges clearly from Professor Tierney's criticism: that the one thing which is emphatically not in dispute is the extraordinary merit of *King of the Beggars*. Quite apart from its literary distinction, it represents one of the most solid contributions to the history of modern Ireland that have appeared in our time. It will never, of course, figure among "official" text-books: it tells too many unpalatable truths to merit that privilege, and its ruthless honesty would disturb the curiously adjusted balance of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* which has now become the "authorised version" of Irish history. Let us hope at least that it will find its way into the hands of those of the rising generation who will eventually mould the cultural destinies of the Ireland of to-morrow.

Mr. Ó Faoláin describes magnificently the debt of Ireland to O'Connell. While O'Connell did not originate the idea of political nationhood—as Professor Tierney rightly reminds us, that concept was transplanted from England by the colonists—still he is the father of the modern Irish nation, for he harnessed the masses of the native race to the new constellation. He introduced the Catholic "helots" to the new gospel of personal and political liberty; he gave them a new aim, Ireland as a self-governing entity; a new technique, political agitation—and a new language. Minor shifts of emphasis, changes in the rhythm of physical and moral force should not blind us to the fact that, for better or for worse, Ireland has remained in substance what O'Connell made her, and continues to move along the lines which he laid down for her. He bade her speak the English tongue, and the victorious progress of that tongue is even to-day overwhelming the last feeble strongholds of the older language. He bade her think in terms of political and economic nationalism, and she has obeyed him but too well. No better instance could be found than the career of the movement for the revival of Irish, which, in its origins a reaction against O'Connell's neglect of cultural nationalism, has eventually become political in the worst sense of the word, operating entirely with the weapons and the methods of political agitation. The very measure of the success which Professor Tierney ascribes to the Gaelic League in revolutionary politics is the measure of its abject failure to achieve the purpose for which it was called into being. It was far less trouble to create a revolution than to restore Irish, and so a stream which should have been kept aloof from and uncontaminated by political strife was mingled almost from its source with the turbid waters of Irish political nationalism. We know the result.

It should be noted that Professor Tierney has no quarrel whatever with Mr. Ó Faoláin's account of the genesis of the modern Irish nation. The theory that the latter has some kind of continuity with the so-called

" Gaelic state " may be a useful fiction for political and Gaelic League platforms; historically it is nonsense, and Mr. Ó Faoláin is perfectly justified in calling it a " faked tradition." But one can completely accept his view on this point without joining in his denunciation of the older Gaelic order of society. His first chapter, unforgettable in its literary craftsmanship, which is designed to paint in the background to the coming of the Liberator, exaggerates (with conscious or unconscious artistry) the sombre hues of the past. Oppression, squalor and starvation were the frequent lot of the Catholic peasantry in the eighteenth century, but the picture of " the unhappy hut-dwellers drooping by their peat fires " is moving rather than accurate: the " hut-dwellers," as they live for us in the tenacious memories of their descendants in the Gaeltacht to-day, were not unhappy, and were far more given to singing and dancing rather than drooping by their peat fires. There is more justification for Mr. Ó Faoláin's criticisms of political and social conditions under the Gaelic order, but the latter sinned chiefly by refusing to move with the times; in a changing world it remained fossilized, parochial, and ineffective. Further, many of the prerogatives of the noble classes which weighed most heavily on their poorer lieges were not " Gaelic " in origin at all, having been introduced by the Norman conquerors who, while subsequently discarding their foreign speech and ways, jealously retained those feudal customs which had already given their families power and privilege in England at the expense of the " villeins." Their neighbours of the native race were not slow to follow and even improve on their example, and thus the so-called " Gaelic state " was in reality a curious amalgam of old native law and Norman feudal customs which has never been properly studied, least of all by those who clamour for its " restoration." For the rest, while in no sense democratic, it was certainly popular. The touching fidelity of even the humblest classes to the old aristrocratic order is warranted not merely by the poets (whose testimony is too lightly discounted by Mr. Ó Faoláin) but by the English state papers. The lowliest liegeman of the MacCarthys would have echoed with a passionate pride and loyalty the cry of Egan O'Rahilly on his death-bed: " My fathers served their fathers before Christ was crucified." (Incidentally we owe to Mr. Frank O'Connor this fine translation of a still finer original: *na flatha fá raibh mo shean roim éag do Chríosd*). Why did the plain people glory in their immemorial submission to the " old stock "? Not from servility or cowardice, but because the Gaelic mind (as expressed in its literature and its laws) was essentially hierarchical. It would, in fact, be difficult to find a greater contrast with the mind of modern Ireland as moulded by O'Connell.

The traditional social order was doomed even before O'Connell's

day, and Mr. Ó Faoláin has no doubts of his wisdom in cutting the new Ireland away from the moribund past. But would it not have been possible for him at least to save the Irish language from the wreckage and to insert it in his new creation? After all, most countries have managed to assimilate the theory and practice of English utilitarian democracy without jettisoning their native speech. Doubtless Irish would have been radically changed in the process—it would have shed, for example, most of the unreal conventions which repel Mr. Ó Faoláin in the work of the poets; but as it was still the language spoken by the bulk of the people, it would have been strong enough to develop in a natural manner the terminology and idiom of a different order which are now being feverishly pumped into its lifeless veins by the official word-manufacturers referred to in Professor Tierney's opening sentence. O'Connell, native speaker and scion of the purest Gaelic aristocracy, with his unique power over the hearts of his people, might well have united the old language and the new Ireland, although it is only fair to say that this would have meant rowing against the tide, for the popular drift away from Irish had already begun. But to O'Connell as to all educated Irish Catholics, lay and clerical, of his day Irish represented merely the annoying relic of a dead order from which his countrymen must free themselves in order to live; accordingly, far from encouraging it, he hailed the signs of its dissolution with satisfaction. Mr. Ó Faoláin applauds his decision. I deplore it (perhaps because I have less use for political nationalism than he has). But we both recognise its irrevocable effects. They may be summarized in one sentence. English becomes henceforward the "national language" of the political Irish nation, the language in which its gospel is preached and its concepts formulated, and a thousand latter-day Constitutions (or even "original" *Bunreachta*) cannot alter that stark reality.

Does this mean that we should "forget and march on," ignoring all that was Ireland before O'Connell? That is certainly not my view, and I doubt very much, despite Professor Tierney's criticisms, if it is Mr. Ó Faoláin's either. After all Ireland is far older than the political Irish nation. For centuries before the latter was even thought of Ireland was united, not by Constitutions or Presidents, but by the link of a common culture which transcended the boundaries and the bickerings of all the petty sovereignties. That culture, while neither great nor significant as a contribution to the common stock of humanity, has moulded the Irish *Eigenart*, the "otherness" of which Professor Tierney speaks. If we lose contact with it we shall have surrendered our identity as a people. Nowhere in Mr. Ó Faoláin's book can I find any rejection of the cultural and spiritual (as opposed to political) values enshrined in Irish literature. True, he deals hardly (in my

opinion much too hardly) with Ó Bruadair, O'Rahilly and their like. But his book gives evidence of a more than passing interest in their work—no doubt his acquaintance with it is far wider and deeper than that of the average neo-Gael; and surely neither he nor Mr. O'Connor can be blind to the original and haunting beauty which flowers so unexpectedly underneath all the rubble of pedantry, formalism, and artificiality. Even still it would be possible to keep future generations in touch with that beauty, with the real as opposed to the sham Gaelic spirit, if only our educational authorities would have the courage to abandon the "faked tradition" for the English-speaking seven-eighths of the country, and if our political authorities would concentrate their attention on the rapidly dwindling areas where Irish is—in fact and not in "fake"—the native language of the people. But a sane and honest policy in regard to Irish is in our day an even more fantastic dream than was the hankering of the poets in the eighteenth century after the vanished Ireland of their fathers. D. A. BINCHY

NO. 2.—BY GERARD MURPHY, M.A.

IT is difficult to comment on Professor Tierney's article and at the same time to do justice to the book from which it takes its origin. That book is at the same time a masterpiece of biography, a masterpiece of historical evocation of the past, and a masterpiece of what, for lack of a better word, may be called concrete criticism of the present. The first chapter is indeed unjust to our Gaelic past and, strictly speaking, is not history but a parody of history. Yet when I had reached the end of *King of the Beggars*, I reread it and saw that artistically it had its justification. The rotting decaying Ireland that it paints (so unlike the strong-working, strong-playing, strong-faithful, lovely-singing, richly-speaking Ireland that was really there); the whimpering, cadging, babbling, bothered Ó Bruadair that it paints (so unlike the real Ó Bruadair, who thought, who laughed, who praised, who judged, who upbraided, with a vigour and independence that was all his own); the formula-loving poets that it paints (so unlike the real poets, who were on the whole producing work that was perfect in its kind according to Paul Valéry's definition of poetry as a union of rimes, rhythms, images, symbols, thoughts, and associations)—all these perversions of literal truth have even historically a certain symbolic value, and artistically they have a very real value. They symbolize the political chaos of the period; and artistically they serve as a formless shadow with which to contrast O'Connell, the definer, and his definition, the modern democratic Irish state.

Must the typical citizens of this democratic Irish state look only to themselves for the culture that is to be theirs? If so, that culture will be a form of Anglo-Saxon culture influenced more or less by Gaelicism

and, it is to be hoped, Catholic in tone. Such a culture will of necessity be an ill-defined, vaguely constituted culture—like the cultures of Belgium or of Switzerland—lacking the vigour, reality and life-giving value of a clearly-defined culture such as that of France ; for definition and reality are complementary to each other : where one is lacking, the other is necessarily lacking too.

There is an alternative, however : encouragement of the continuance, growth and spread of the diminished form of Gaelic culture that still subsists in certain districts in Ireland. That alternative would involve very special treatment of those districts, treatment that in my opinion should certainly be given them. It would perhaps even necessitate their administrative separation from non-Gaelic Ireland.

Whether we are to have a form of Anglo-Saxon culture influenced by Gaelicism, or to work towards the strengthening of Gaelic culture and its gradual spread over Ireland, Professor Tierney's reference in the last paragraph of his article to the consequences of the Renaissance will give us hope and suggest at least one definite activity of which all (including, I hope, Seán Ó Faoláin) will approve : a vigorous literary and historical cultivation of every branch of Gaelic tradition in our schools, universities, institutes, and academies.

Could Seán Ó Faoláin be induced to go further ? Could he be induced to collaborate with Professor Tierney in preaching the fostering and spread of the Gaeltacht, with the aim of one day making all Ireland Gaelic ? It is unlikely that he would agree to this, unless he were brought to change his mind about the true nature of Gaelic culture. For he seems to believe that in essence Gaelic culture is aristocratic and incompatible with a civilization built on a democratic basis. Now the Gaelic state was admittedly aristocratic, or rather patriarchal ; for in it " the laird," as Johnson has pointed out (*Hebrides*, Ostig section), " was father of the clan." But Professor Tierney has rightly distinguished culture from method of government, and Gaelic culture (as opposed to Gaelic government) is profoundly popular.

This comment shows signs of exceeding the limits assigned to it, so nothing but a hint may be given here of the lines on which a proof of the profoundly popular nature of Gaelic culture at all periods would run. It is well known that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were Irish songs and laments to which scribes never gave a place in their manuscripts. This purely oral song and lament tradition was common to rich and poor, nobles and commoners : love-songs belonging to it were sung by the exiled nobles who gathered round King James in Paris (Sh. Ó Cuív, *Maonus O Ruairc*, p. 12) ; Sir James Cotter's nurse (Fiachra Éilgeach, in the *Irish Press*, Ap. 27, '36) and Colonel Arthur O'Leary's wife were, in different strata of society, makers of death-laments belonging to it ; and the anonymous soldier's

Lament for Sarsfield, justly admired by Seán Ó Faoláin, also belongs to it. Now that such popular poetry has a long ancestry in Gaeldom is certain. We have just mentioned the Sarsfield poem: its first line "A Phádraig *Sáir*séal *slán* go dtí tú" has the rime-pattern of an eleventh century hymn "tug dam do *sheirc*, a *mheic* mo Dhé," a rime-pattern which crops up by accident, as it were, in that hymn, but which hardly appears again in Irish manuscript literature till popular songs, or poems modelled on them, begin to find their way into late seventeenth century manuscripts (*Cf.* Bergin in *Mélanges Pedersen*, p. 283); such a rime-pattern did not exist in poetry of the normal manuscript tradition; therefore it must have been preserved orally. This and many other reasons (consideration of the history of *aisling*-poetry among them) show that it would be wrong to decide with Seán Ó Faoláin (*King of the Beggars*, p. 37) that the "levelling" of the eighteenth century was the sole cause of the popular literature which he admits to have existed at that period as "a phenomenon," however, "in Irish history."

The Gaelic state was patriarchal, Gaelic culture was popular, and freedom of intercourse between the classes gave a democratic semblance to Gaelic society that at all time marked it sharply off from Anglo-Norman society (Froissart, 1395, on Richard II in Ireland). Why then is it that so many people to-day look upon the Gaelic order as oppressive? The answer is not far to seek. When Samuel Johnson visited the Hebrides in 1773 he found a Gaelic mode of life still in existence there, and he was not without admiration for it. The Gaelic "laird," as we have seen, was then essentially "the father of the clan." Johnson, however, with that clear perception which gives value to all his judgments, saw that an unsympathetic English government had for long been intent on doing away with those ancient rights and customs upon which the paternal relation was founded, and with foresight that was almost uncanny he prophesied that the "lairds" would gradually degenerate "from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords" (*Hebrides*, Ostig section). The development prophesied by Johnson came about not only in Scotland but in Ireland also. Indeed in Ireland it had largely come about at the very moment at which Johnson was writing. Seán Ó Faoláin and others, looking on that landlordism which Johnson foretold, tend to read it back into a past in which Johnson clearly saw a quite different social order existing, an order in which human sympathy played a more important part than struggle for wealth and power—a Stuart order, to use Professor Tierney's phrase (p. 356), as opposed to a Revolution order.

Lords, then, need not primarily and purely be rapacious landlords —to support a lord (though it may on occasion imply rebuking an upstart) need not mean to despise the commoners who converse with

him freely, who sing his songs and listen to his literature; Gaelic civilization may not be as terrible as it is painted—and perhaps Seán Ó Faoláin will join with Professor Tierney in working for the gradual spread of Gaelic culture so that it may ultimately conquer the non-culture of our O'Connell-founded democratic state.

GERARD MURPHY

NO. 3.—BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., D.LITT.

PROFESSOR TIERNEY's main thesis, that " outside a limited field devoted to religion our present day Irish culture is not by any means of Gaelic origin but almost entirely Puritan and English," does not strike me as being the whole truth. If we define culture as the mastery of life in its higher aspects—religious, intellectual, artistic—the overwhelming influence of Puritan and English thought amongst us is open to serious doubt. On the religious side, as all will admit, our convictions and practices derive from the Catholic Church, which was centuries old before the English nation was born. That we are unduly affected by the long-developed commercial morality of Puritan England I should like to see proved. Our principles of conduct in such matters are surely those taught in the tract " De Justitia " of the theological manuals. Fundamentally, moreover, they seem to coincide with the principles governing the making of contracts in the Brehon Laws, and are thus in origin as much Gaelic as Puritan.

Intellectually, no doubt, the products of English thought surround us on every side like an enclosing sea. But here again, a conclusion favourable to Professor Tierney's thesis may be reached much too rapidly. For, however much we may steep ourselves in English literature, devour English fiction, utilize works of a technical and professional character, we take as a rule good care not to accept the judgment or outlook of the English writer save where it agrees with our own. Otherwise there would be absolute mental harmony between the two countries, a state of affairs which notoriously does not exist. Indeed it might be argued with a formidable show of reason that French literary culture in, let us say, Denmark and the republics of Spanish America is more far-reaching in its effects than English literary culture in Ireland.

Our tastes, finally, in music, painting, sculpture and architecture are not specifically English; they may just as well be regarded as French, German or Italian.

In a word, where English culture is not really common European culture, our Irish culture to-day is very largely peculiar to ourselves.

That contemporary English culture, with its colossal native strength

and its myriad opportunities, should be relatively so weak in its influence over us is, to my mind, the phenomenon that really calls for explanation. What Irishman has not felt the jar when, after a negligible number of minutes in a cross-Channel steamer, he reaches an English port? It is a new world, which may please or displease the better it is known, but which is certainly not the world from which he has come. He may, of course, if his sympathies lie that way and if his character is soft and malleable, become assimilated, more English than the English themselves, or he may become partly assimilated, an Anglo-Irish hybrid like not a few of our literary men, but the time spent in the process shows, if it shows anything, that the culture which he has brought with him, in its fundamental aspects, is poles apart from that of the English people.

It may likewise be contended that those features of Irish culture which appear to derive from Puritanism and modern Nationalism are but superficially such. The fact would rather seem to be that their roots lie strong and deep in Irish history. What distinguished the Puritan was his passionate love of civic freedom, combined with a total aversion from gaiety. Of the second characteristic, so displeasing to the Irish mind, nothing need be said. But the Irishman at all times has been like the Puritan in his passionate love of freedom. Between the two there has always, however, been this difference, that while the Puritan laid the emphasis on civic liberty, the Irishman laid the emphasis on personal liberty—the right of every man to be fully himself, to be as good as everybody else and a great deal better! This, indeed, is a feature of Celtic history as far back as it can be traced. It is the chief psychological reason why Irish states, in the days of our independence, tended to be and to remain small. The people really ruled themselves, for the king was one of themselves, known to them all and certain to be dethroned if he did not give general satisfaction. Thus Mr. O'Faoláin's concept of the Gaelic order as the creation and mainstay of a selfish aristocracy, never supported by and always hostile to the people, is an astounding misunderstanding of the historical situation. In ancient Ireland love of personal freedom was overwhelming. It was insisted on even at the price of certain loss to the body politic. The Gaelic social and political order was exactly that which the people wanted it to be. In the work of restoration after the calamitous collapse of the 17th and 18th centuries that passion for personal liberty re-appeared, expressing itself now (almost of necessity in the changed circumstances) in some of the forms made familiar by the Puritans. Thus ideas of liberty in modern Ireland do not derive from the Roundheads; they derive from the Irish people themselves; and their appearance at times in Puritan garb is a matter of mere convenience. Our people would no more have accepted Puritan

ideas of freedom than they would have admitted Puritan ideas of doctrine and ecclesiastical order; but having these ideas of liberty they were willing to deck them out in the dress laid ready to hand by the Puritans.

A similar line of thought is, I think, justified in the case of our modern Nationalism. This movement, no doubt, in the 19th century had an extreme quality unknown to previous ages. No doubt, too, Irish nationalism from O'Connell onwards reinforced itself with notions of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and the Rights of Man as in more recent times with the woolly idealism of the Fourteen Points. But Irish nationalism, in essence, is as old as the Irish people. To maintain that there was no word for "nation" in Old Irish and therefore no Old Irish nation, is to pay excessive attention to words. What is "natio" itself in origin but a contemptuous term for a barbarous people, a tribe rather than a civilized state? A law put "on the conscience of the men of Ireland" was surely a national law in a very full sense, as was the Law of Adamnan passed in A.D. 697, where the legislators were the kings and prelates, ollavs and sages—"at the request of all the men of Ireland, both lay and clerical" (et impidi fer nÉrenn uli, etir laochu ocus clérchu). Where the "men of Ireland" were conceived as a unit, there the nation was obviously conceived as such. The implications of nationhood have grown with time, and since the 19th century have been very different from what they had been in any previous age, but the idea of the nation—the Gaels as distinct from Fomorians, Greeks, Romans, Saxons, Norse, Normans, English—is as old as the oldest Irish literature. That it was strongly influenced by 19th century developments, and came to express itself partly in 19th century language, is not surprising.

The essence of Irish nationalism is, I suppose, pride in things Irish, not so much because they are Irish as because they are believed to be good. That pride, as a matter of fact, is more intense, less self-critical, in the centuries from the seventh to the seventeenth than it is in the nineteenth century. While the Gaelic order lasted, it took itself for granted. Only in the last century, when "extreme" nationalism arose, did the doubters and the questioners, the weary-hearted and the compromisers likewise come home to roost.

But if I cannot accept as absolutely valid Professor Tierney's analysis of our present cultural position, I am heartily at one with him in the view that Ireland is now at the parting of the ways and that the goal of our efforts henceforth should be clearly understood. In a brief commentary like this there is not space even to indicate the lines which our development should take. On one point alone, perhaps, a reminder is desirable. It is historically true to say that the highest cultural achievement of our people has been in the sphere of religion.

More recent history suggests that our vitality in the same field continues unimpaired. The life of perfection within our shores and the propagation of the Faith without should thus loom large in the ideal which the new Ireland seeks to realize. JOHN RYAN

NO. 4.—BY SEAN O FAOLAIN

I HAVE three observations to make on Professor Tierney's essay. The first is that his conception of Puritanism is much too simple to be true. I cannot in brief space outline what Puritanism means to me, but I would refer the reader to the interesting essay of Dowden's—I think the title is "Anglican and Puritan"—for a corrective of the idea that Puritanism was merely rank individualism in the modern sense. I think of Bunyan as a typical Puritan product, and feel in his "incandescent inward life" of the lonely soul, as in Milton's "he who would write well here-after in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem," the sense of a tradition reaching back behind a [debased] Hellenic spirit to the high morality of the Hebrew tradition. This may be an example of Maritain's idea of a masked character of Goodness playing the wrong part, and so corrupting instead of reforming. None the less, to try to equate that lofty idealism with Benthamism is ahistorical and anachronistic. For the great part which Puritanism played in the defence of human liberty I refer the reader to Lecky's "Rise and Influence of Rationalism" (p. 177 foll.), where something may be found to make one pause at Professor Tierney's sentimental idea that the Stuarts opposed the powers and mentality of commerce, industry, and finance. The Stuarts attempted to defend a corrupt and despotic monarchy, and were supported therein by a sychophantic local church which tried to make religion sponge on the State. It is certainly true that the Puritans were the great defenders of the rights of peoples as against the divine rights of kings; but there is no need or reason to conclude, because Irishmen also, later, defended the same popular rights, that they got their inspiration from that source. To speak sharply of the "innate tendency of English Puritanism to rebel against the ancient European tradition," to suggest that the Stuarts typify that tradition, to blame the Puritans for kicking them out, and above all to make that a kind of *Catholic* argument seems to me to be a case of putting the Almighty into very poor company, as well as of mistaken omniscience with regard to His will. All that about Puritanism had far better been left out of the essay.

Throughout (my second observation) Professor Tierney uses the word culture in an unsatisfactory way. I should have thought he would have wished to emphasise the moral, even the supernatural,

element in the idea of any culture ; and to point out that while it exists mainly in the temporal sphere, its forms are analogues of universal truths, such as charity, justice, order. If it be true that the extrusion, as he says, of four-fifths of the English " has coincided with a continuously intensified process of Irish subjection to English culture in the course of which the Gael has almost disappeared from the world," surely the essential thing to know is whether that is or is not a blessing ? The forms of Gaelic culture—political, social, intellectual—cannot be taken for granted in any serious discussion as to the value of the old Gaelic " state." He has a number of, as they seem to me, *obiter dicta* about the " Gaelic civilisation," and no more ; such as that it was static, and being static was not backward, and not being backward was (presumably) quite sufficiently forward.

I must say that, on the ecclesiastical side, I am a little perturbed at Professor Tierney's satisfaction with a " civilisation " which, from the beginning, cherished a nationalised religion, which it gradually corrupted so far as to need a vigorous reformation at the time of the Cluniac movement ; which never produced any articulate philosophy ; whose hagiology is without merit ; which was so inert culturally that while its members did fine work in pigment, and some fine work in stone, it produced in letters literally *nothing*, either in Latin or Gaelic, of which it can be proud—nothing, that is, to correspond with the mediaeval hymns, or the religious drama which is the course of all secular drama in the West. On the secular side, I am of opinion—which is humbly open to correction or modification by the scholars—that the social condition of the mass of the people left a tremendous amount to be desired. On that, being a literary man, I can only bring to bear the negative evidence of the virtual absence in the culture of the old Gaelic world of anything popular, homely, of the hearth and the cabin. I have tried to elaborate that in my book and in a letter to *The Leader* (August 20th), and maintained that the culture of the Gael was exclusive, despotic, aristocratic. To say that the use of the word " undemocratic," in this regard, is anachronistic is merely to quarrel with a word ; my meaning is made clear by the comparison with corresponding periods in England where there is a mass of popular culture, such as songs, dances, written verse, fables, political satire, etc. Here again, the " Gaelic " church does not appear to have done anything, and I would make an uncomplimentary comparison with the period of, and after, O'Connell, when, in their efforts for the social and political betterment of the laity, men like Archbishops MacHale, Walsh, Croke, or " J. K. L." showed a sound conception of what a national culture does mean. They knew that, as I believe St. Thomas teaches, to lead a moral life—not to mention a full life– man needs a minimum of comfort and security. (I should like very much to know

what kind of moral life was led by the mass of the people under the old Gaelic state). I do not agree, therefore, at all, that modern Irish life is subjected to English "culture." The outer forms have altered. I still see no final alteration in the Irish spirit. And I believe that since O'Connell we have progressed immeasurably towards a genuine culture as by comparison with the exiguity of the exclusive *class* "culture"—not worthy of the name—evident in Ireland for centuries before Emancipation.

My last observation is to agree that O'Connell was, undoubtedly, utilitarian in his methods, and that he probably imbibed a good deal from English and French radicalism, and that I can see no point whatever to girding at a historical fact. All that Professor Tierney can oppose to O'Connell is a hypothesis that he *might* have managed otherwise. The fact is, he did not. Besides, the history of any nation's rise is latticed. Briefly, we can absorb, thanks to O'Connell and his successors, these influences, and be thankful for them. Modern Irish democracy *is* Irish, and it *is* Catholic. We used the Gaelic past as an excitement to inspire us; we never examined it; we are not able, when we do examine it, to see what it has to offer us in our present state—even Professor Tierney is unable to say anything concrete about it. Unless it be concrete to compare, as he unwisely does, the Renaissance debt to the glories of Greece and Rome—so rich, so orderly, so constructed, so inspiring, so fecund—to what he himself, in his opening paragraph, calls "a romantic dream," and cannot define. Without some such definition the whole discussion is futile.

Sean O Faolain

SAINT ANDREW BOBOLA

Canonized on Easter Sunday 1938

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

BETWEEN the upper waters of the Vistula flowing north-west into the Baltic near Danzig and the upper waters of the Dnieper flowing south-east into the Black Sea there stretches a broad expanse of low-lying country, much of it very swampy, but merging into vast tracts of the almost treeless steppes and diversified with regions where the " black earth," the most generous type of arable land, reveals itself in abundance. Continuous with this and separated from it by no natural barrier is the Ukraine, now an independent Soviet republic. It is with the Ukraine that for many centuries past the Cossacks have been specially identified, and in the maps of the middle of the 17th century all the northern part of the Ukraine, including Kiev and much territory to the east of it, is represented as belonging to Poland. From the point of view of the geographer Poland was then a very vast kingdom, and the town of Pinsk, so specially associated with the story of St. Andrew Bobola, was almost in the centre of the area which the Polish monarchs claimed to rule. Situated on the Vistula, 230 miles due west of Pinsk, was Warsaw, which, though not at that time a bishopric, was the political capital and the mainspring of Latin Catholic influence. At an equal distance from Pinsk, but 230 miles to the south-east, stood Kiev on the Dnieper ; and this was especially the home of the Orthodox Church, Greek in origin and doctrine, but using in these regions a Slavonic ritual. It may be that in 988, at the time of the marriage of Anne, sister of the Emperor Basil, to the Muscovite Prince Vladimir, no schismatic antagonism to Rome existed among the Slavs who then recived the faith, but it is certain that from 1054 onwards the bulk of the Muscovite populace, among whom

Christianity had established itself, accepted without reserve the teachings of Constantinople, now permanently in schism, and paid no heed at all to the Pontiffs of Western Christendom.

Poland thus became the great religious battle-ground between Russian Orthodoxy and loyalty to the Holy See. The adherents of the schism clung tenaciously to their Greek theology and above all to their Slavonic liturgy, and though the Union of Brest Litovsk[1] in 1595 drew millions back into the fold of St. Peter by permitting the use of Slavonic rites with little change save in such details as involved points of dogma, still the creation of this great Ruthenian Church had rather the effect of exasperating the more uncompromising among the Orthodox. An intensely bitter feeling resulted, and the political developments of the early 17th century, the era which witnessed the Thirty Years' War with all its brutalities, only aggravated the mischief. Poland was not a united or well-governed country. The inclusion within its wide boundaries of many different races, as well as the rivalry of Catholics, Ruthenians and Orthodox Muscovites provided constant occasions for internal conflict. The kings who ruled during the lifetime of Bobola, Sigismund III, Ladislas and John Casimir, were devout Catholics and possessed of many fine qualities. They were far from tyrannical or self-seeking, but they had to contend with nobles and great landowners who were bent on their own aggrandisement and jealous of any alteration which might strengthen the hands of the crown. Though Catholics by profession, the landed gentry had little real care for the Faith, for their country or for the good of the people who, especially in the south and south-east, were mostly serfs. Moreover there were also the Cossacks to be reckoned with, and it was especially from this source that serious danger threatened.

Ethnologically the Cossacks cannot be accounted a separate race. They seem in fact to be a people of very mixed antecedents, many of them originally fugitives from Russia, Turkey and Lithuania, who in the wide open steppes lived

[1] It may be noted that Brest Litovsk, where the Russo-German Treaty of the same name was signed in March, 1918, lies midway between Warsaw and Pinsk.

a free life ; and who in return for certain privileges engaged themselves to render military service to the particular government which lent them patronage. They were originally nomads, but gradually became settlers among the serfs who cultivated the soil for the great landowners. They themselves were not agriculturists but a military caste, and their feats of arms as horsemen were universally recognised. There were also Cossacks on the Don and on the Volga, but those who played a part in European history during the 17th century came almost entirely from the Ukraine, and at that period the greater part of the Ukraine was recognised as Polish territory. The registered Cossacks were enrolled in regiments, allotted districts to live in and granted payment for their services in money and in kind. In 1648, when the revolt under Bogdan Chmielnicki broke out, the Cossacks, though professing the schismatical Orthodox faith, were the paid servants of their Polish rulers.

It seems beyond dispute that they had serious grievances. Bogdan himself, who as early as 1628 had rendered great services to Poland in defending Zolkiew against the Tatars, was most abominably ill-used by the agent of a high dignitary in the government. A mill and other property which had been given to Bogdan in reward for his bravery was forcibly seized, and when he absented himself from home in the attempt to obtain redress, his wife was outraged and his child killed. This, at least, is the story which with some variations is recounted by trustworthy authorities. We can hardly be surprised that Bogdan should then have sought to obtain the support both of the Tatars and of the Czar of Muscovy in a campaign against John Casimir, the Polish King. The picture which Mr. A. E. Tennant paints of the rising is rather a terrible one, but such scenes appear to have been characteristic of the religious wars of the period. He writes :—

> In 1648 the Cossacks broke into open revolt under Bogdan Chmielnicki and joined the peasants, whose grievances had now come to a head, in a fearful jacquerie which laid waste whole districts and exterminated many noble families. The peasants subjected their erstwhile masters to every description of barbarous torture and burnt their

homes to the ground. Human flesh was sold in the open market, and babies were roasted and eaten before their mothers' eyes. Every Catholic or Uniat priest who fell into their hands was hanged between a Jew and a pig. The religious wrongs of the Orthodox peasantry were fresh in mind and added fanatical zest to their fury.[1]

These grievances were mainly religious. The Polish rulers seem at that time to have treated their Orthodox subjects somewhat as the Protestant Establishment in Ireland at the same date was treating the Catholics. It seems to be true that the Orthodox in many cases had their churches taken from them and that their cemeteries were violated.

Bogdan and his Cossacks were at first victorious, and he succeeded for a time in making himself something very like King of the Ukraine; but a serious reverse in 1651 left him no alternative but to place himself at the disposal of the Czar of Muscovy. The Czar, who had hitherto held back, thought that he saw his opportunity, and in 1654 he invaded Poland with a considerable force in which the Cossack element predominated. This was the beginning of what is known in Russian history as the "Thirteen Years' War" (1654–1667), of which Professor Dyboski tells us that it "exceeded even the Thirty Years' War in grossness and brutality."

Such facts have to be kept in mind if we are to understand anything of the missionary life of St. Andrew Bobola and of its terrible ending. We know extremely little about his character and doings especially in his early years, and this is not surprising in view of the devastation which attended each stage of what was virtually a civil war. The Jesuits, who were held to be responsible for Poland's religious policy from 1565 onwards for a century or more, were the primary objects of attack and their records suffered proportionately. Moreover it must be remembered that the first informative process in which witnesses were interrogated by episcopal authority regarding the life and martyrdom of the servant of God did not begin before 1712 at earliest.[2] The saint had then been dead 55 years, and it was barely conceivable that

[1] A. E. Tennant, *Studies in Polish Life and History*, p. 110.

[2] Père H. Beylard in *La Vie de S. André Bobola* (p. 97) says, 1712, but the earliest date I can find mentioned in the official process printed at Rome in 1739 is 1719.

anyone could still be living who had known Bobola in his youth. It is curious to find among names of witnesses who were admitted to give testimony such entries as the following: Matthias Zasymowicz, aged 100, who deposed that he had himself been present at the martyrdom; Mr. (*Dominus*) James Czetuerynki, also aged 100, who stated that he had heard the martyr invoke the holy names "Jesus Mary" while he was being tortured; the eminent (*famatus*) John Klinezyck, aged 90, who said he saw the body first after death; also the worthy (*honesta*) Constance Powtowa, aged 100, who said she had talked to those who had been present at the martyrdom and saw that their clothes were stained with blood. One would be inclined to suppose that the notaries found it convenient to credit any elderly witness who was rather vague about his age with being a centenarian, but then we come across the Honourable (*nobilis*) Theodore Teniuka, "aged 102," who declared that he had been a student at Pinsk when Father Bobola was prefect of studies. He remembered that the Father asked him his name, and when he learnt it was Theodore he said that was a very good name because it meant "gift of God." Further the Father patted him on the head or possibly kissed him (*amplexus est caput meum*). The Hon. Theodore also stated that he was 26 years old at the time; but perhaps his memory was a little confused.[1] It is in any case satisfactory to note that Pope Benedict XIV, in a decree which pronounced that the servant of God was a true martyr who had suffered in defence of the Catholic faith, seems to make little account of these centenarian witnesses. He states frankly enough that the main evidence is not first-hand, but that the statements of a great number of people who had conversed with those who had been eye-witnesses might be accepted as reliable and adequate proof.

There is a good deal of evidence adduced in the process to show that Father Andrew Bobola belonged to an ancient and distinguished family. He was born in 1591 and made his studies at Vilna, otherwise written Wilno, where the

[1] See for all this the *Positio super dubio an constet de Martyris . . . servi Dei Andreae Bobola* S.J. printed for the Congregation of Rites, with a rather fine portrait, Rome, 1739, pp. 32–33.

Jesuits had established a college which enjoyed a great reputation. Professor Roman Dyboski, who is not an ardent admirer of the Society of Jesus, bears witness nevertheless to the fact that :—

> The Catholic side scored through the authority of Poland's great representative at the Council of Trent, the learned Cardinal Hosius, and soon after through the brilliant part at first played by the Jesuits in Polish education. What were to become the flourishing eastern Polish universities of Wilno and Lwdw [Lemberg] arose as Jesuit colleges in the first period of the Counter Reformation. And even in the 17th century, at a time of great political distress and calamity, the Catholic learning of Poland's eastern border-lands is the motive-force of a truly amazing predominancy of Polish culture and even of the Polish language among the eastern Christians of Russia and the Ukrainian lands.[1]

It was at Vilna, during the first years of the 17th century, that Andrew Bobola studied as a schoolboy, and we may assume from the important educational work afterwards assigned him as a Jesuit that he must have been regarded as a youth of exceptional ability. It was at Vilna also that on 31 July, 1609, he entered the noviceship of the Society of Jesus, and, after some few years spent as a scholastic in teaching at other colleges, he came back to Vilna in order to make his theological studies and be ordained priest. It soon appeared that Father Bobola had a great gift for preaching and controversy. His services were everywhere in demand, so that during some years he lived successively in a number of Jesuit houses—sometimes at Warsaw, sometimes at Vilna or elsewhere, but the task of preaching or of directing the sodalities of our Blessed Lady seems to have been everywhere his work of predilection. From 1642 to 1646 he contributed much to the success of a college at Pinsk which was then rapidly developing. Only a short time before, in 1630, Pinsk—which might be regarded as lying on the northern boundary of the Ukraine and especially subject to Cossack influence—had been a stronghold of Orthodox belief. It was said that in a population of some 13,000 there were not more than 40

[1] Roman Dyboski, *Poland*, p. 33.

people who made open profession of Catholicism. When Father Bobola was sent there in 1642, a great change in the religious convictions of the inhabitants had already begun, but the new-comer carried on the good work with such extraordinary success that he was already a marked man. When it was that he acquired among the schismatics the opprobrious nickname of "Duszochwat" (soul-snatcher) is not clear. It may have been during his later residence at Pinsk, but it cannot be doubted that in his first visit he had achieved a great reputation. He is described on all hands as a man of much physical strength and endurance, though he seems to have been corpulent and not very tall, but his health gave way under the strain. He was accordingly sent away in 1646 to Vilna to recruit and was there probably employed in less arduous duties. In 1648 the Cossacks marched on Pinsk. The town was sacked and burnt, and 4,000 of the residents are said to have been massacred. Father Bobola was not then an inmate of the Jesuit college, which as one of the first objects of attack was wrecked and left roofless. But the violence of hostilities having temporarily died down after the agreement which followed upon John Casimir's defeat at Zborow in 1649, and Father Bobola's health being in a measure restored, he was once again sent to Pinsk in 1652, and it was there that most of the last five years of his life were spent, years filled with more arduous labours and perils than any which had preceded.

It must be confessed that we are destitute of exact information concerning the incidents of the martyr's apostleship; in fact the whole history of Catholic Poland's desperate struggle at this period with the Cossack leader Chmielnicki in the south and with the Czar of Muscovy to the north-east, as well as with Charles Gustavus of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg in the north and west is a tangle of contradictions and confusions. But with regard to the circumstances of the last terrible tragedy in which Father Bobola gained his crown there is a considerable body of evidence. Some of it was furnished by eyewitnesses whose memory could still reasonably be trusted, and there were a number of people who had heard

full descriptions of what occurred from those who had been present on the spot. Most satisfactory of all, there were the holy remains, preserved incorrupt though so horribly mutilated, the actual condition of which fifty years after the event bore out in almost every detail the testimony of those who had gazed upon the body when it was first brought to Pinsk a fortnight after the martyrdom.

From the accounts preserved we learn that in May 1657 a body of Cossacks made a sudden attack upon Pinsk. Resistance on the part of the Catholics was hopeless, for they still formed only a minority of the population and the Orthodox inhabitants were in sympathy with the invaders. In the absence of any Polish troops to defend them, flight or concealment was the only course to follow. The Jesuits in particular knew, from the terrible experiences of the past six years, that from such foes no mercy could be expected for any member of the Order. Father Bobola accordingly made his way to Janow a township in the neighbourhood. Thither news came that the Cossacks were in pursuit, and the Father was persuaded by some of his friends to take his place in a wheeled conveyance and drive further away, but the attempt to escape was vain. Bobola was soon overtaken and eventually dragged back in triumph to Janow.

Of the scenes which occurred a terrible account is given. At first some consideration was shown and the prisoner was invited to abjure Catholicism. On his refusal he was stripped, tied to a tree and scourged without mercy. The transfer to Janow, in which he was forced to run between two mounted Cossacks who dragged him along with ropes, seems to have followed upon this, and then at Janow he was confronted with some sort of Cossack officer for further examination. This man, enraged by the Jesuit's uncompromising answers, struck him a violent blow on the head with his sword which would probably have proved fatal but for the fact that the prisoner instinctively opposed his right arm, so that the hand was nearly severed. He was in any case felled to the ground, and the officer taking no further notice of the victim, left him to the mercy of the party who had captured him.

Close at hand was the public slaughter-house. Amid the jeers of the schismatics, whose religious fanaticism seems to have been inflamed by the Jesuit's firm answers, he was dragged into the building and thrown down upon a rough table which was used for the purpose of scorching the bristles off the hides of the pigs that were killed there. They applied the same treatment to the martyr's naked body, lighting two torches of resinous pinewood and bringing them in contact with every member in turn. Then noticing the priest's tonsure, the whim occurred to them to scalp him and tear off all the skin from the crown of his head. This may have suggested an extension of the same form of torture. They turned him over on his face and practically flayed him alive, making the skin into a sort of chasuble, after which they cut off his nose and one of his ears and slashed away his lips. The martyr's constantly reiterated invocation of the holy names of Jesus and Mary seems also to have provoked them to a still further outrage. They made a wound in his neck, grasped his tongue with pincers and, using great violence, dragged it out by the roots. The victim by this time must have been near death, but the flesh still palpitated, and a Cossack officer chancing to enter at this juncture gave orders that he should be dispatched. The head was accordingly severed by a couple of blows of a sabre, and the body was thrown out upon a dunghill. All this happened about mid-day on 16 May 1657. The Catholics were able under cover of night to carry off the remains and a fortnight later, when the Cossack incursion had been diverted to another part of the country, the martyr's holy relics were conveyed to Pinsk and interred before the high altar in a vault under the church.

When a formal inspection of these remains took place in 1730, two surgeons—one J. G. Geyen, who was the chief medical adviser of the Grand-Duke of Lithuania, the other Daniel Fleischer, the principal surgeon of His Majesty the King of Poland—made independently a practically identical report. They declared that, though the remains had been in no way embalmed or treated with any preservative, they exhibited no trace of putrefaction ; they were not desiccated,

but the flesh remained supple and resilient. They gave a description of the injuries which the body had sustained which closely corresponds with the account furnished of the details of the martyrdom—for example, that the skin had been torn off the back, that the tongue had been removed through an opening made at the back of the neck. Moreover they pronounced that no natural explanation could be given of the condition in which the body had been found, for the martyr's obesity and the damp of the vault would normally have contributed to its complete resolution into dust. So far from the presence of any unpleasant odour or sign of corruption, they both affirmed that they perceived a notable fragrance for which they could not account.

This was accepted by the Congregation of Rites as a miracle which might be taken as confirming the evidence otherwise offered that the servant of God had died a true martyr for the faith.[1]

It cannot be disputed that the incorrupt condition of St. Andrew's body is a very remarkable fact, and we have particularly to bear in mind that in the conditions already described the mentality of the greater part of the population of Poland bore the stamp of the eastern rather than that of the western Church. Apart from the schismatics themselves, many Polish subjects, and notably of course the Ruthenians, were familiar not only with the liturgy but also with the popular beliefs and traditional practices of Greek Christianity. Religious ideas which had been handed down for generations—the troubles associated with ancestor worship and the Chinese rites at once occur to mind in this connection—were not extirpated by a mere change of allegiance from Moscow to Rome. A process of canonization was recognized among the Orthodox schismatics as well as among the Latins. But the Graeco-Russian Church had its own procedure, and according to that procedure it was a practically indispensable requisite for the recognition of sainthood that the body of the holy man should have been preserved incorrupt. On the other hand there was a tendency in all these regions affected by the

[1] See the *Positio super dubio* etc. (1739) pp. 127 and 129.

influence of Muscovite traditions to believe that, if a body was preserved incorrupt, it was necessarily the body of a saint. Not ten years after the martyrdom of Father Bobola, in an ecclesiastical council held at Moscow in 1667, the Patriarch Joasaph promulgated with all formalities an official warning that the mere fact of freedom from decay or putrefaction in the mortal remains of any dead person did not afford justification for honouring him as a saint. There must also, he insisted, be an official inquiry by ecclesiastical authority and a definite approbation by the Holy Synod.[1] This, of course, had no sort of reference to the case of Father Bobola whose body was not found until forty years later; it was simply an enactment of Russian canon law. At the same time the publication of other decrees in similar terms at a later date seems to show that a contrary opinion persisted especially among the vulgar. We know, however, in any case that this immunity from decay was a point of immense importance in the canonization procedure of the Orthodox. Throughout what was then accounted Poland, though it was ere long to be absorbed in the Russian dominions, no more holy spot was known than the "laura" of Pechersky (the name is variously transliterated) at Kiev. There, in what may be described as a species of catacomb, were until recently honoured the bodies of 73 "saints," all alleged to be incorrupt and exposed for popular veneration attired in rich vestments. Before the Bolshevik revolution this "laura" (*i.e.* monastery) was visited by a quarter of a million pilgrims annually. On the other hand, those who are acquainted with Dostoieffsky's great novel "The Brothers Karamazoff" will remember that almost the climax of the story is furnished by the discovery that the body of an ascetic and mystic, honoured during life as a man of extreme holiness, had shortly after death begun to exhibit manifest signs of corruption. He was therefore not a saint after all; such at least was the popular verdict.

All this, it seems to me, throws a good deal of light on the

[1] See on all this the article of the Bollandist Père Paul Peeters "La Canonisation des Saints dans l'Eglise russe," in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. XXXIII (1914), especially pp. 414–417.

history of the canonization of St. Andrew Bobola. If anyone should hold the view that Divine Providence had condescended to honour the martyr with just that form of supernatural sanction which would be most likely to appeal to the inherited beliefs of his countrymen, it would be difficult to refute him. On the other hand, one must admit that the story of Father Godebsky's thrice renewed dream which led in 1702 to the discovery of the body, seems to revive a form of legend which recurs many times in connection with some of the least satisfactory saints in the Church's calendar—least satisfactory, that is to say, in the matter of historical evidence. But still it may be argued that the later history of the cult of St. Andrew is so full of wonders as to justify belief in its marvellous commencement. Many miracles, duly attested in the Beatification process, followed immediately upon the discovery of his resting place. A successful termination of the process seemed already in sight when the deplorable political situation under the Polish King Augustus III, followed by the first partition of Poland and immediately after this by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, created obstacles to progress which could not be overcome. The custody of St. Andrew's body passed as time went on into different hands. At one period it was in the keeping of Orthodox monks, who, true to their principles, treated the incorrupt remains with marked respect, not to say veneration. At another a community of Dominicans had charge of it. But the strangest and most interesting episode in its peregrinations was the recovery of the sacred treasure from Bolshevik hands by the tact and persistence of Father Edmund J. Walsh, S.J., now Vice-President of Georgetown University, Washington. The story has been admirably told by Father L. J. Gallagher, S.J.,[1] who was in 1922 Father Walsh's coadjutor in the Papal Relief Mission to Russia when famine was working terrible havoc among the destitute children. After manifold disappointments the shrine was traced to a lumber-room of the Moscow Medical Museum where it lay practically forgotten. Many difficulties were raised before the Bolshevik authorities consented to

[1] See *The Month*, February 1924, pp. 116–129 and *America* for April 16, 1938.

allow it to be transferred to Rome. But all obstacles were in the end overcome, and on 1 November 1923 it happily reached its destination. After reposing for some years in the Gesú, the still incorrupt body of St. Andrew Bobola has been restored to his native country and it now lies in Warsaw.

I can only in conclusion, speak very briefly of a curious prophecy which our Saint is said to have made in 1819 when appearing to a Father Korzeniecki, a Dominican who was very devout to him. The Dominican was bidden to open his window and look out upon the landscape. Thereupon:

> The plain seemed to him suddenly covered with innumerable hordes of Russians, Turks, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Austrians, Prussians and other nations beside, which the friar could not exactly distinguish, fighting in a sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict such as might be seen in a war of ruthless extermination. The Father was aghast and bewildered by the horrible spectacle.
>
> "When," said the Martyr, "the war of which you have just seen a picture shall have given way to peace, then Poland will be restored and I shall be recognised as its principal patron."

Although Père Yves de la Brière, S.J., has twice championed the authenticity of this prophecy,[1] I must confess myself unconvinced. The story was not heard of before 1854. It was then published in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in an article dealing with the beginning of the Crimean War, and the order in which the contending nations are mentioned fits exactly the circumstances of that date. On the other hand, it corresponds in no way to the forces actually engaged between 1914 and 1916 in Poland and the Ukraine. If we possessed any definite information regarding Father Korzeniecki, or the Father Felkierzamb, S.J., who is supposed to have heard the story from him and to have written it down accurately from memory many years afterwards, there might not be the same reason for scepticism. But Father de la Brière, though 23 years have elapsed since his first article, seems still unable to supply any details concerning the history of either the one or the other.

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] See the *Etudes*, November 1915 and 5 May 1938.

REPORT OF THE BANKING COMMISSION

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

THE terms of reference given to the Commission of Inquiry into Banking, Currency and Credit were as follows: "To examine and report on the system in Saorstát Eireann of currency, banking, credit, public borrowing and lending and the pledging of State credit on behalf of agriculture, industry and the social services, and to consider and report what changes, if any, are necessary or desirable to promote the social and economic welfare of the community and the interests of agriculture and industry."

There were, therefore, two clearly distinct tasks set to the Commission: (i) an educative or instructional task—to examine the present system in six specific points, to explain how it works, what its aim, purpose, function is, whether it is efficiently discharging the function it professes to discharge; (ii) an advisory task—to say whether this system, assuming that it is functioning or can be made to function efficiently, does actually "promote the social and economic welfare of the community and the interests of agriculture and industry," and if not, what changes are necessary or desirable.

The first of these tasks, the educative one, is the job of the professional economist, banker, and civil service expert. The Majority Report and its appendices, as well as the two volumes of memoranda and evidence, contain the discharge of that task. The Minority Reports do not even profess to undertake that task; they concentrate on the second. There will not be much difference of opinion as to the efficiency with which the technical experts on the Commission have done this first part of their work. We are presented with eight clear and concise monographs—sufficiently simple, on the whole, to be understood by any educated citizen. Those monographs on various aspects of banking and allied subjects would make excellent text-books for a course on National or

Applied Economics in the higher classes of our secondary schools or even, possibly, as a first year course in the University. The competent authorities might well do worse than reprint them as separate pamphlets, with inter-leaved blank pages to enable them to be kept up to date and amplified.

There is only one serious criticism that might be made about this aspect of the Majority Report ; but that is a serious one. Its economic teaching is ultra-conservative ; indeed, it would have been considered conservative twenty-five, if not forty, years ago. This would be no great harm : one expects a deep sense of responsibility, leading to caution and conservatism, in a Commission appointed to advise a Government on such vital issues. It would be no great harm, were it not that the Majority Report leaves on the reader—whether it was meant to do so or not—the impression that there is no other orthodox view on these questions except the one it teaches so clearly and forcibly. But it is well to remember that to-day economic orthodoxy has a right wing and a left wing. I am speaking of economic orthodoxy, not of the many economic heresies that lie outside, especially outside the left-wing. In my opinion, the Commission, in discharging this part of its task, has made a serious error of judgment in omitting to take full cognizance of post-war thought and theories on its subject-matter. To take but one example, from a single country, England : how many of the Commission came to a considered judgment that John Maynard Keynes' work, especially his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, should be ignored ? The Commission could not be expected, of course, to make a detailed examination of all the various " schools " even among the " orthodox " economists. But it was unwise, it seems to me, to claim, implicitly, that its teaching alone should command the attention of reasonable men. I fear—and I use the word " fear " deliberately in its literal sense—that the result will be that the Majority Report will come to be regarded as a museum piece. All the sound wisdom and accurate exposition and analysis that it contains will be lost to the country—and will have to be lost—merely on account of its omissions.

And if the reaction against its ultra-conservative tone is violent enough, there is no knowing to what ultra-progressive extremes it may lead us.

Before considering the second task of the Commission, we shall have to go back for a moment to the terms of reference. The Commission was asked to advise on what changes, in six specific operations, were necessary or desirable in order to promote four very different things: (i) the social welfare of the community; (ii) the economic welfare of the community ; (iii) the interests of agriculture; (iv) the interests of industry. Whether intentionally or not, the order of these aims or ends is precisely correct : they are given, in the terms of reference, as above—that is, in an order of descending importance. Moreover, intentionally or not, the terms used are well chosen : the "social *welfare*" of the community, but the "*interests*" of agriculture. Moreover, the omissions are significant : there is no word about the "interests of commerce" or "of international trade", much less, of course, "of banking or money lending."

As to the last two aims or ends, "the interests of agriculture and industry," the Commission has dealt with them in Chapters VIII and IX. All that can be said at the moment about these chapters is that, as far as they go, they are excellent—always remembering the ultra-conservative spirit of the Majority Report. But they do not go far enough by any means. If ever, then surely here was the place for a thorough revaluation of the whole nature of the modern joint-stock company, with its economic advantages and social disadvantages, of the whole question of co-partnership in the ownership and control of capital, and of the whole question of the *régie coopérative* and co-operative production in general. I do not hesitate to say that it is lamentable that the Commission should have omitted to consider and report on these and similar questions. They fall fully and squarely within its terms of reference, even under the words "interests of agriculture and industry"; but they are positively asking to be examined under the words "social . . . welfare." They are some of the most vital questions concerning credit and capital : the method of raising capital, debenture shares,

holding-companies and the rest ; and the nature of the borrower, whether an entrepreneur, a combination of manual and managerial labour, a union of municipal and trade union borrowers and similar matters.

But it is really the two first aims, the social welfare and the economic welfare of the community, that are far and away the most important. Let us begin at once by stressing the vast difference there is between these two aims. For, in my opinion, the Majority Report has attempted to slur over this difference and has concentrated altogether disproportionately on " the economic welfare of the community." And this seems to be at the root of the differences between the Majority Report and the three delightful—a Frenchman would say *terrible*—Minority Reports.

Perhaps the clearest way to bring out the difference between social welfare and economic welfare (though one must apologise for stressing the obvious) is by an example. Take two families : one that of a skilled worker in steady employment, with a wife and large family. They have only a moderate income, but they live well within it, and everyone recognises the need of being both economically careful and socially ready to make sacrifices, to " bear one another's burdens." That family can be extraordinarily happy, independent, peaceful, united, strong. Its social welfare stands at a high mark : its economic welfare stands probably at or near the minimum. Another family, with an income so large as to be literally a nuisance, may have all that money can buy and yet, owing to selfishness or jealousy or tyranny, may be a perfect purgatory, each tormenting the other. Its social welfare is at a minimum, while its economic welfare is at a maximum.

No comparison is perfect : but between a family (which is actually a social unity or a society) and civil society (the community) there is more than an analogy. At least for the one point under consideration, the difference between social welfare and economic welfare, the example is quite adequate. It seems to me that the Majority Report is based on the belief that the greater the economic welfare the greater the social welfare of the community, while it ignores the fact

that a greater degree of economic welfare may often only be obtained by a sacrifice of social welfare. The idea that if the *appetitus divitiarum infinitus* which is latent in human nature be allowed free play everything will work out, if not perfectly, at least as well as a very imperfect universe permits, seems to me to haunt the pages of the Majority Report. It is a false idea—but insidious, plausible and very attractive to certain types of mind. I cannot help borrowing some words of a distinguished non-Catholic writer : the Catholic ages and the Catholic mind always take " the same delight in contemplating the moral purpose revealed in social organisation " as the modern materialistic age and mind take " in proving that to the curious mechanism of human society a moral purpose is superfluous or disturbing." It is not the business of a government merely to preserve the automatic mechanism in smooth running condition and then let it produce whatever results it will and must produce. It is the business of a government and of a community to set before themselves the true end and purpose of human society and then consciously and intelligently to manipulate the man-made and man-controllable mechanism so as to attain this end and purpose and no other.

The whole point of having a Commission at all was, presumably, a conviction that the true purpose of human society—the happiness, security and social welfare of the community—was not being adequately achieved. The Majority Report has not only given a clean bill of health to one vital part of the economic system and declared it blameless, but it has warned us against the danger of hoping or attempting to improve the social welfare of the community by any deliberate control of this vital part. All conscious governmental action seems paralysed except the task of keeping the mechanism in good running order and preventing the social consequences from disturbing it. One wonders did it strike the Commission that perhaps a violent reaction against this gloomy advice might occur. The Report really plays into the hands of those currency and credit reformers whom the Commission has been at such pains to refute. Two of the Minority Reports prove that.

The Majority Report, signed by sixteen of the twenty-one Commissioners, is really a large book of 369 pages. It is divided into twelve chapters, each of which has its own subdivisions. The first chapter is an historical introduction dealing with banking, currency and credit in Ireland from about 1700 up to 1933. It is well done, indeed very well done: clear, precise, brief. But it is something that Professor George O'Brien or one of his more able students could have written up in a couple of months. The second chapter is a long and detailed survey of the social and economic background of Eire at the present time. Once more, this is a finely executed piece of work—nearly a hundred large pages—full of facts and figures, but splendidly lucid and, everything considered, as simple and popularly instructive as could be expected. It is of the highest value and is deserving of all praise and gratitude. But surely it is a type of memorandum that should be periodically at the disposal, at least, of the Government of the country. All the information it contains must have been in the possession of the various departments of the Civil Service, and the drawing up of the chapter could have been and ought to have been done by an inter-departmental committee of civil servants or by the Statistical Branch. It is precisely the sort of thing that an Economic Council would insist on having every two years. This chapter should be reprinted by itself and given to the new Senate to discuss in public over a long period. Moreover, a fresh edition kept up to date should be issued every two or three years.

The main conclusion from this economic survey is not very novel nor, in the opinion of the present writer, is it in any way doubtful or disputable: "... as regards raw materials and a whole series of semi-manufactured and finished articles, imports will still be necessary to maintain the standard of living within the country. Experience in other countries has shown that an increase in the standard of living involves increased imports, and there is no reason to believe that it could be otherwise in the Free State." (p. 116). Hence, to pay for these imports, our agricultural production will have to be responsible for the maintenance of a surplus quantity of exportable wealth.

There are two points, however, about this conclusion: (i) it deals with an economic, that is a material, standard of life: (ii) it deals with an average standard of life. It is arguable that it would be more desirable to do without a great deal of the top-layers, the frills and ribbons, of an economic standard of life, if these top-layers were bought at too great a national or social price. For instance, a family might well prefer to live in a simple house and on simple fare and spend its surplus income on promoting literature or art or music, rather than cut out the literature, art and music and have a sumptuous palace and sumptuous fare. So, too, a nation might well prefer to cut out much of the so-called amenities of a higher (material) standard of life for the sake of a larger population and a more equitable distribution of the total wealth of the community. It is vital to know what "a standard of life" means, and still more vital to know what any particular economic (material) standard of life or any particular increase in it is going to cost in non-economic, non-material values. In a famous phrase, "it may not be the thing we would buy or the price we would pay." The increased possibility of satisfying artificially created wants is generally, in the modern world, bought at too high a price: we have to pay someone for artificially—by advertisement, change of fashion, and the rest—creating our "wants," and then the "satisfaction" of these "wants" brings no true content.

Moreover, if "an increase in the standard of living" of a community merely means that a relatively small number of families consume more or consume more expensive goods or live more wastefully—increasing, probably, their permanent property at the same time—while the greater number of families consume the same as before or very little more and do not increase their permanent property at all, then we may well pause. The so-called increase in a community's standard of living (even the purely material standard) does not always nor even very often distribute itself automatically over all the families in the community. A community, unlike a living body, has no self-adjusting power to spread surplus

wealth where it is needed. This has to be done by the intelligence and good-will of the men who form the community. Some people believed that the Commission might have been able to say whether certain currency or credit policies could be applied (*a*) to slow up the accumulation of property in the hands of the wealthy; (*b*) to slow up the accumulation of capital and increase the consumption of primary economic goods; (*c*) to distribute the real wealth produced within the community in a more socially desirable way than at present.

The Majority Report of the Commission is conscious that some such demand was being made of it. It has devoted a whole chapter (Chapter V) to Some Social Aspects of Currency and Credit. In this chapter it states that many of the witnesses "advanced the view that the monetary mechanism could be employed for the realisation of far-reaching social changes." The Commission, moreover, recognised the importance of the "moral factors involved"—that is to say, the intelligence and good-will mentioned above. But it would seem that the Majority Report is too concerned with purely material considerations, that it believes "economic welfare" is the same as "social welfare." Undoubtedly, a certain minimum economic welfare for every family in a community is rightly demanded and sought for. But once that minimum has been achieved, it is questionable whether the first care of the community should be to devote its energies to raising progressively that purely economic minimum. In other words, is it a desirable social ideal to concentrate on increasing its productive power as regards quantity and variety of material goods? Or is it more desirable to be content with a relatively frugal but more evenly distributed standard of life for all families and a much slower increase in productive power? Does it not depend on what social disadvantages are contained in the first and what social advantages are contained in the second? From a purely economic point of view, a community viewed as a unit should strive to increase its productive power, and social considerations would only be allowed to be attended to in so far as they helped or hindered this increase in productive power. This principle is at the base of modern

economic philosophy and systems. There is a sentence in the Majority Report (p. 176) that is a revelation of the mind of the signatories. "It is important to emphasise the basic importance of increase in productive power, for any measures which would result in an impairment of the technical efficiency of production would be apt to cause a social set-back, limiting the amount available for the various members of society." Surely it is much more important to emphasise the basic importance of human independence, liberty, justice and happiness as being the ends of human society? "A social set-back" would not necessarily follow from "limiting the amount [of material goods] available for the various members of society." On the contrary, the real social values are largely independent of the amount of material goods available, always assuming a certain minimum amount. Hence "an impairment of the technical efficiency of production" in very many branches of production, at least, need have very little effect on the social welfare of a community. For example, "an impairment of the technical efficiency of production" of diamonds, pearls, Persian carpets, snow-shoes, even battleships, torpedoes and bombs, need have no appreciable effect on the social welfare of the Irish people. The idea that every community must have all the latest luxuries and inventions and improvements at its disposal (or rather at the disposal of certain sections) is not immediately acceptable to everyone. There is a certain balance to be maintained between "economic welfare" and "social welfare." By all means, let every family have all the material blessings given to man by God and let every family, not only a privileged few, have them in as high a degree as possible, provided that more precious social values are not sacrificed in the effort to produce or procure these purely material things.

It seems to me that this is really the root of the differences between the Majority Report and the three Minority ones and between the Commission and many of the witnesses who pleaded for "social justice." The Majority signatories appear to think that increased production in itself, irrespective of the nature of that production (or of imports, which is

practically the same thing), is the essential preliminary to, if not the very substance of social welfare. The Minority Reports appear much more concerned with true social welfare—that is, a certain frugal minimum of economic goods for every family and a very large increase in non-economic, social benefits. But in two of the Minority Reports, the first and third, there seems to be an underlying assumption that we can, almost at once, have both a high degree of economic material welfare for the whole community (or certain sections of it) and true social welfare at the same time. In my opinion, the second Minority Report, Professor Busteed's, comes much nearer to the truth and reality of this matter. If I understand his line of thought correctly, it is that if we want certain non-economic social values we must be ready to pay for them. Talking, for instance, about Eire's sterling holdings he says: "Now it would be a social tragedy if this extraordinary accumulation [of sterling holdings] . . . were dissipated as a consequence of incompetent social policy. It is as well also to be clear that the eventual liquidation of a large part of this accumulation could not only be contemplated with equanimity but be welcomed. It would depend on the social policy that caused it. The difficulty, of course, is that desirability or not of any particular social policy is usually a controversial matter." And earlier in the Report (p. 614) he says: "Now would it be a good thing to liquidate this accumulation of sterling assets by a great increase in imports of goods and services from abroad? Maybe it would and maybe it would not . . . Obviously it depends entirely on the utility of the goods and services so acquired. It might be of great social value or the reverse. It is a matter of the soundness of the social policy being pursued."

At the back of this whole attitude lie two very sound doctrines of Catholic social philosophy. The first is that "a man's surplus income is not left entirely to his own discretion." The second is that a man's surplus income is "that portion of his income which he does not need in order to live fittingly and becomingly." The words "fittingly and becomingly" certainly do not mean that a man or his family

can continue to multiply their wants in an artificial, extravagant and wasteful way. There are moral obligations concerning the use of wealth ; there are limits to the amount that can be justifiably considered as needed to live " fittingly and becomingly " in a certain station of life. Moreover, what is " fitting and becoming " should be estimated with reference to the general economic state of the community in which a man lives. What may be " fitting and becoming " for a successful business or professional man in a very wealthy community, such as England, might be extravagant, wasteful or unreasonable in a much poorer community. Now it is socially desirable that the real wealth produced (or imported) by any community each year should be so distributed that every family is enabled to live " fittingly and becomingly " in its station of life. A certain amount of the real wealth annually produced will, of course, have to be devoted to maintaining the productive capacity of the community at a certain level. But there is no need either to endeavour constantly to raise, indiscriminately, every and any kind of productive capacity or to build up or maintain excessive reserves in the way of foreign investments. It ought not to be beyond the wit of man to settle what is, in any given community, " fitting and becoming " for any family, below which no family should be allowed to fall.

But if in any given year the real wealth produced was so distributed, economists assure us that the productive capacity of the community would fall. That is probably true : at least, it can be admitted. Possibly, what would happen would be, not a fall in productive capacity, but a stoppage or slowing down of the *increase* in productive capacity of the community. In other words, less of the annual real wealth would be devoted to new capital expenditure, more would be consumed. There are two sources of social " waste " or " leakage " (the terms are not exact) at present. First, too much of the annual real wealth produced is being " saved " or " invested " in capital goods—and in indiscriminate capital goods : the reason that this " excessive " (I beg the question) portion of the annual product is able to be " saved " is that

some of the community are not getting sufficient to enable them to live " fittingly and becomingly." Secondly, too much of the " surplus income " of the wealthy and moderately wealthy sections of the community, instead of being re-distributed through " alms-giving, beneficence and liberality " or by other means, is being used by these sections to live at a higher material scale than, possibly, is justified by the economic state of the community or else is being used in the above mentioned " saving " or " investment." For the sake of argument, I am assuming that this " surplus income " is a true surplus income and not really, as may easily happen, an inequitable share in the annual product. In this latter case, of course, there is no question of alms-giving or anything else except justice : in other words, it is not the " surplus income " of the possessor at all ; he does not own it or have any special claim to it. What we want is to stop these two " leakages " and divert, into the possession of those who are not able to live " fittingly and becomingly," that portion of the annual real wealth which is at present " leaking " away.

How can this, with least reduction in the productive capacity of the community, be done ? And having been done, how then can we best control the *kinds* of productive capacity that we want to maintain and gradually increase, and the *rate* and *amount* of each kind ? These are problems that, in my opinion, were clearly contained in the Commission's terms of reference. Can these problems be solved by certain changes in the currency, credit, banking system or policy ? Can certain such changes help towards their solution ? So far as I can see, the Commission did not give sufficient attention to these problems : it concentrated much more on the " economic welfare." Did it ever consider that a less economically rich and varied cake of annual wealth might be socially more desirable ? Or how this socially more nourishing and digestible cake might be produced ? I am not criticising the Commission for finding that no currency or credit changes could help to produce such a cake. My point is that, whatever its recommendations might have been, it does not seem to have at all, or certainly not clearly and adequately, considered

this aspect of the problem, this question of social welfare as distinct from economic welfare. (Yes, I have read most carefully, and more than once, Chapter V, pp. 176–187). In fact, so far as I have discovered, the Commission had no clear idea, as a Commission that is, of what social welfare is or what social justice is. Certain members of the Commission, of course, must have known as well as anyone what these ideas represent. But the Commission as a Commission does not seem to have paid much attention to these ideas, if it had them. Personally, I believe that, had it considered this aspect of the matter, it might have been able to suggest some not very revolutionary plan or readjustments by which, *inter alia*, private investment, its amount and direction, might be brought under the effective control of the supreme social authority.

As I suggested above, this is the real explanation of the Minority Reports. In so far as it is, but only in so far, I am ready to take my stand with the Minority Reports and the angels. With much of the purely economic content of the first and third Minority Report, I am in complete disagreement. But the difference lies in the fact that I am ready to pay and pay heavily in purely economic values for certain social values and welfare. The signatories of these two reports seem to me to be trying to obtain the social values and welfare at an economic cost to no one. With the spirit and content of the second Minority Report I feel most in agreement. The Majority Report is an economist's and technician's report, and as such I have no doubt that it is extremely valuable. Across it are written in bold letters two of the cardinal virtues: prudence and moderation; across the Minority Reports are written the other two: fortitude and justice. The true statesman has all four.

E. J. Coyne

THE NEW KULTURKAMPF IN GERMANY *

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

ONE of the consoling features of the struggle between Church and State in National Socialist Germany is the evidence that it brings of increasing solidarity between Catholic and Protestant in their fight for the maintenance of fundamental Christian values. A clear proof of the strength of that solidarity and of its repercussions outside Germany is the Dean of Chichester's book. The matter is equally divided between the Protestant and the Catholic Churches. The appendices give the text of the Concordat of July 1933 between Germany and the Vatican and of the Papal Encyclical Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany in March 1937 as well as matters of peculiarly Protestant interest. Such are Pastor Niemöller's last sermon before he was arrested in June 1937, the speech of the Minister for Church Affairs, Herr Kerrl, in February 1937 to the Presidents of the Church Committees, and an open letter of the German Protestant divine Dr. Otto Dibelius to Herr Kerrl in the same month. These documents make it abundantly clear that the Churches are fighting a common battle, one of the decisive battles of our world—Christianity against the new religion of Blood, Race and Soil, " the myth of the twentieth century."

That the conflict is basic and the issue knit is clear from the exposition of Monsieur le Comte d'Harcourt. His is a documented history of the relations between the Catholic Church and National Socialism from its pre-government days in 1930–1933 to 1937. The Papal Encyclical, at the reading of which the author was present on Palm Sunday 1937 in the Cathedral at Berlin, is chosen as the terminal point of his study. That stirring pronouncement tore away the last vestiges of the veil of delusion which was being for years so

* *Catholiques d'Allemagne.* Par Robert d'Harcourt. (Plon. 1938. 15 fr.)
Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany. By A. S. Duncan-Jones, Dean of Chichester. (Victor Gollancz. 1938. 8s. 6d.).

cynically woven around the real intentions of the German Government towards Catholicism—if not indeed towards Christianity. It pointed out the steady pressure on Catholics in official positions in Germany to leave the Church; the manner in which fundamental religious concepts such as Revelation, Faith, Immortality were being emptied of their content and distorted to profane use, whilst the doctrines of Original Sin and of Grace and the virtue of Humility were derided as non-Germanic and unheroic. It protested against the forcible inculcation into the minds of the young of a Christianity which is not of Christ, and sympathized with Catholic parents for the nominally free but in reality compulsory vote in favour of communal schools.

The general story of National Socialist Germany has been told and is being told *ad nauseam*. The particular history of the relations between that State and both Christian Churches has not before been so well and so clearly related as in the two books already cited. The accounts are objective and are given by experts with first-hand knowledge of the subject and with no interests other than the interests of Christianity. In the general story there has been propaganda from time to time—for and against—though, to judge by the speeches of German Government members from the Chancellor down, one would imagine that there has always been a question only of propaganda against. Indeed, one of the rather skilful brakes applied to any effort that the Churches might make to bring world opinion to bear on the crisis is the complaint that Germany is encircled by foes, is the object of the world's hate, and that the German who airs any grievance outside is a traitor engaged in the nefarious business of selling his country. When Dr. Dibelius spoke in defence of Dr. Niemöller in the Dahlem Church after Dr. Niemöller's arrest last year, he was careful to stress the fact that Niemöller had never given information to foreign countries. Pater Mayer, the famous Jesuit preacher, tried and imprisoned about the same time as Niemöller and on somewhat similar charges, invariably refused to have his case discussed outside Germany. The trouble with all totalitarian states, of course, is that the

government is identified with the country and that hostile criticism of a government measure is construed as treachery.

Nothing has so stayed the hands of present day German Catholics as the reproach persistently levelled at them of being bad Germans, suspect of disloyalty because of their loyalty to Rome. Long before the advent of National Socialism—under the Hohenzollern regime—Catholics in Prussia were more anxiously zealous in their expressions of loyalty to the State than non-Catholics ever were. The same might be said to be true of Catholics in England. There is, in both cases, an uneasy consciousness of criticism implied, of an ancient reproach—and a consequent anxiety to prove the reproach unfounded. This is, perhaps, an explanation of why English Catholics showed scant sympathy with Irish Catholic nationalists or why German Catholics, clerical and lay, constantly protest their loyalty to the National Socialist regime under which they are so steadily being crushed.

The tactics of the National Socialist Party in thrusting the loyal Catholic into the position of a bad patriot began already in 1930 when the Bishop of Mainz found himself called upon to condemn the doctrinal errors inherent in paragraph 24 of the Party Programme (guaranteeing freedom of religion *in so far as such religions do not endanger the State* or *offend against the moral sense of the German Race*). That condemnation, translated into practice, involved, for Catholics who were members of the Party, refusal of the Sacraments, prohibition to attend Church services in their uniforms or to enter Catholic cemeteries for the purpose of laying wreaths on the graves of the War or Party Dead—on such occasions as the 9th November, National Memorial Day. One can imagine the reactions that any but a firm Catholic might have to such a prohibition in 1930–1933 when the movement had millions of votes behind it and was advancing like a tide through the country. It must be remembered, too, that the doctrinal aberrations which were obvious to ecclesiastics often went unheeded by laymen. The Party was very careful not to stress them, and it was not even clear to all Churchmen at that stage that National Socialism involved

a rigid conception of life definitely excluding orthodox Christianity. Even to-day readers of *Mein Kampf* cannot see their way through the, perhaps purposely, vague formulations of a Party Policy and the distinctions between it and a Philosophy of Life. Moreover, the well known phrase in the 24th paragraph of the Programme—"The Party as such represents the standpoint of a positive Christianity"—induced what proved to be a false sense of security in many Catholics and in practically all non-Catholic Christians down to 1933.

There are many differences in the position of German Catholics and of German Protestants over against the National Socialist regime, and the advantages are by no means all on the side of the Protestants—curious as that may seem. The Catholic Church has in her favour the dogmatic and administrative unity which has always been hers. She has the Papacy—a single Infallible Head, residing outside the boundaries of the Third Reich and possessing sovereign rights, even in the temporal sphere. That Head owes no allegiance to National Socialism. He may and he does speak so as to be heard, not only by his spiritual children in Germany but by the world. His representative is still the doyen of the diplomatic corps in Berlin and the Concordat which was concluded between him and the Third Reich still stands, though it has been flagrantly violated. The present occupant of the Papal Throne enjoys, moreover, an enormous personal prestige throughout the world. The abuse which is being hurled at him by official National Socialist organs on all possible occasions is perhaps a measure of that prestige and a measure of his power, even in Germany. The constitution of the Catholic Church is such that no attempt can be made to incorporate it into the State, to interfere with its doctrines or to decide upon its administrators—dangers to which the Protestant Churches saw themselves exposed the moment National Socialism came into power.

The existence within German Protestantism of three divergent Church groups—the Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches—was an invitation to a party like that of Adolf Hitler to come in and unify them. The fact that a fourth

group, the German Christian, had arisen in 1930, had identified itself with National Socialism and counted among its leaders an army chaplain named Müller who was the friend and helper of the Führer constituted from the very beginning a threat to the independence of the Protestant Churches. That threat became imminent when the Chancellor appointed Müller his Confidential Adviser in Church matters. Though the Altona group of Protestant pastors under Asmussen saw the danger of the promulgation and enforcement of the doctrine of Germanic Blood and Race in January 1933, it was really the formal attempts of the government in the course of that year to " incorporate " Protestantism and to bring it under the control, not of their own elected Bishop von Bodelschwingh but of the Chancellor's nominee Müller, that first roused outstanding divines to refuse to come in under the State. The history of Protestantism in the next five years is one of wholesale arrests (1,300 out of the 18,000 German Protestant pastors) and dismissals. It is also the history of the steady and often heroic refusal of many to give away one jot or tittle of the " Credal Confessions." The body of men from which these passive resisters are drawn has come to be known as " The Confessional Church," one of the best known members of which is Dr. Martin Niemöller, Pastor of Dahlem. He is at present in a concentration camp, having been arrested by the Gestapo in July of last year after he had been released by the Court which tried him at Moabit. Indeed, it may be said that German Protestantism is to-day experiencing a somewhat similar trial to that which the Catholic Church experienced under Bismarck in the years 1872–1879 when the Falk Laws endeavoured to interfere with administration, to appoint and dismiss bishops, and to set up a German Catholic Church. The part that was then played by the " Old Catholics," revolting against the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility and used by Bismarck for his purposes, is now, in the Protestant Churches, paralleled by the German Christian Movement revolting against the Bible and accommodating itself to the Sacred Books of National Socialism—*Mein Kampf* and *Der Mythus*.

Though Catholicism and Protestantism have, in many respects, a common front in this fight for the maintenance of Christian values, the strategical position of the Catholic Church is different and better. The tactics of her enemy are therefore, of necessity, different. The Führer and many of his helpers—Goebbels and Himmler for example—are Catholics, in name at least. They have learned by Bismarck's mistake, if indeed they would ever have been tempted to make it. They will not attempt to found a German Catholic Church. They may have hoped to play off a unified Germanic Protestantism against Rome. If they did, the hope is dead, killed by Dibelius and Niemöller and all the other Parson heroes. Not only that—the rapprochement between the Churches in their common struggle seems to the Party so dangerous that Rosenberg had to write a venomous attack on both, which he published in 1937 in book form under the engaging title : *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome*, the Protestant reply to which was suppressed by the Government. If National Socialism dreams of a German Church, it is not a Church in the sense in which either Paul de Lagarde or Bismarck contemplated it. Indeed it cannot be called a church in any sense, though it may yet have temples. It has nothing to do with any Christian conception ; it is the mysticism of the Folk, the binding of Blood, the call of the Land. It is nothing but a substitute—the word religion is camouflage. Forged in the fires of National Socialist passion and preached in National Socialist propaganda, it will be the weapon given to German youth to make Germany " eternal."

Meantime the Catholic Church, which cannot be moulded or incorporated, is persecuted in its ministers as Protestantism is not, in spite of the arrests and dismissals and concentration camp detentions. Her bishops, having in 1930 and 1931 discovered the germ of evil in the Programme, had solemnly excommunicated those of her children who were " active agent " members of the movement and had, in 1933, exhorted their flocks to vote against the Party at the election. The Party has neither forgotten nor forgiven that. Party leaders and Party organs, which (it must be remembered) are now

the voice of the Government, never cease identifying the Catholic Church in particular with the hated Weimar Republic, the Communists and the Separatists. The Catholic is " international," un-German, suspect. Catholic priests are first to be confined to the altar, then discredited and defamed. In the " desectarianisation of public life "—the great ministerial slogan—Catholic Youth organisations have been deprived of all effectiveness ; enrolment in the Hitler Youth is compulsory ; denominational schools disappear. These disabilities affect Protestantism and Catholicism alike, but the blow against Catholicism is shrewder, since it believed itself protected by the Concordat and the great Protestant Youth Association had gone in of its own accord in 1933. Peculiar punishments reserved for the Catholic Church were the Currency Trials in 1935, in which priests and nuns were pilloried as public traitors and robbers ; the Morality Trials in 1936 and 1937, designed to show how base are the religious and how unfit to have the education of youth ; and the Treason Trials, in which priests were accused of being in league with the Communists to undermine the National Socialist State. All these attacks were accompanied by a continuous hail of propaganda in Press and Radio, culminating in the speech against the religious orders of Dr. Goebbels in the Deutschland Halle in Berlin in 1937. Meantime the Church is, as it were, gagged and bound; she has no Press, no Radio, no means of defence. When the Bishops protest, their protests go unheeded. When her priests from the pulpit attempt to enlighten their flocks, they are " political offenders," are arrested, as was Pater Mayer in 1937, tried and sentenced to imprisonment. The young people—and they are the hope of the future—are all this while being steadily led away from any and every Church. In the schools, the labour camps, the Hitler youth, the university, the army, the new doctrines are being forced home. The old and the middle-aged may go to Church and pray. Soon, it is hoped, the young people will recognize Christianity as outworn and unfit for heroes.

The picture is gloomy, yet there is no need to despair. The days of doubt and confusion of ideas are over ; the

Churches know what they are up against. The exponents of the new philosophy which is to supersede Christianity are not obscure dreamers. They are the Führer himself and the men whom he has placed in key positions : the Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels ; the Minister for Church Affairs, Dr. Kerrl ; the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick ; the Minister for Education, Dr. Rust ; the youth leader, Baldur von Schirach ; the Culture Leader, Rosenberg, etc. Their repeated pronouncements delivered *ex-cathedra* are among the documents which help Count d'Harcourt to trace the phases of the struggle in the last five years. These pronouncements and the reports of facts and happenings in the same period made by the Bishops and Cardinals and by the Nuncio are the materials from which the Encyclical of 1937 drew its conclusions. The only doubt in the mind of the foreigner studying events in Germany is that arising from recent developments in Austria. Does the acceptance of National Socialism by Cardinal Innitzer and the Austrian Bishops imply a cessation of hostilities which is a prelude to peace ? Were *real* guarantees of liberty for the Church to pursue her work and to fill her place in the life of her children given ? Are they being observed ? Or is it only a repetition of the Concordat, which has been rather a screen for attack than a protection ? There seems to be as yet no answer to these questions. The future alone can tell. Meantime the Churches in the Reich, deprived though they are of the weapons which a well-organised Press afforded, for instance, to the fighters in the Kulturkampf of 1872, still have their defences in the spirit. The heroic qualities that the world admires in the Germans and that are extolled to deification by the Party live in the members of the Churches which that Party is striving to destroy. There is no sign of a flight from the Churches. The evidence is all the other way. Many—the best—still refuse and will refuse to sell their souls. To these, in their heroic struggle, we offer the tribute of our admiration and the promise of our prayers.

MARY M. MACKEN

ALBERTA UNDER ABERHART

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

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THREE hectic years have passed in Alberta since Premier Aberhart's Social Credit Government was established, with an overwhelming majority, at the election in August 1935. A review of its legislation shows a mass of scraps of paper, thrown away by the authors or disallowed by the Federal Government or declared invalid by the Courts. The promise of twenty-five dollars a month "social credit dividends" for everybody, which carried the Aberhart party into office, remains unfulfilled, and the people, instead of getting dividends, are more heavily taxed than before. The "big interests" of Canada are in battle array against Aberhart, but it does not seem that finance, the press and the old-line political parties are able to shake his hold on the Province.

The prestige of Aberhart continues formidable in the West, although no attempt has been made to establish Social Credit. This statement would be endorsed by the celebrated Major Douglas, who has resigned his appointment as Economic Adviser of the Alberta Government, and it would be endorsed by the Government itself, although an attempt was made with an ingenious scheme of currency issue which would doubtless have been hailed as Social Credit, or a step in that direction, if it had not been an abysmal failure.

The issue was of so-called Prosperity Certificates printed on one side to look rather like Canadian dollars; on the other side were 104 spaces for stamps. Those using the certificates as means of payment had to affix a one-cent stamp every week on certificates of the face value of one dollar. The stamps had to be purchased with real Canadian money. The certi-

ficates—or scrip, as they came to be called—were issued in the first instance as wages to men employed on relief jobs, chiefly road making. Had the scheme succeeded, the Government would have profited in two ways: it would have obtained the money for the mere cost of printing and it would have obtained a revenue of one per cent. per week on the issue by the sale of stamps. The revenue from stamps was earmarked for a fund to redeem the scrip with dollars at the end of two years, but if the scheme had succeeded for two years it would probably have succeeded indefinitely and redemption would have been balanced by re-issue of scrip. At the very least the Government would have had money interest-free for two years plus a profit of 4 per cent.

According to the political gossip which appeared in the newspapers, Premier Aberhart himself never had much faith in the scrip scheme; but he was forced by his followers to do something that looked like having some relationship to Social Credit. A young French Canadian Cabinet Minister, Mr. Lucien Maynard, is said to have been the author of the scrip scheme and the driving force behind it. The idea was suggested by the Swiss economist, Gesell, whose theories and plans of "shrinking money" have attracted wide attention among students, but Gesell's disciples were quick to repudiate responsibility for the Alberta scheme.

The great doubt about the scrip was whether it would be acceptable as means of payment. The relief workers would take it as wages in the first instance, expecting to spend it with the local retail storekeepers; these small storekeepers might be forced, by the pressure of local public opinion, to give the scrip a trial. But could the retailers pass it on to the wholesalers? Would the Government itself accept it in payment of taxes? There were many conflicting statements from the Government about its intentions, reflecting the uncertainty in the Government's mind. The wholesalers were emphatically hostile from the start: they would only accept scrip if they could be assured of early redemption by the Government, so that they could make payments outside the Province. The Government made ambiguous statements

about providing drafts in exchange for scrip for necessary payments outside the Province. The banks said they would receive scrip only for special accounts and would not pay anything but scrip for those accounts. Professional men like doctors and semi-public institutions like hospitals adopted a compromise : they would accept ten per cent. payment in scrip ! Those who were in any way susceptible to the influence of popular opinion could not afford to show themselves too unsympathetic towards the Government's experiment. Farmers, it would appear, generally wanted dollars when they sold their produce. In the first critical days and weeks the hostile newspapers " played up " all news unfavourable to the prospects of scrip, while the Government gave out only the most encouraging statements. The Government accepted scrip for some taxes, but not for all. Cabinet Ministers showed no eagerness to take their own salaries in scrip.

The resistance to the circulation of scrip brought the Government to the necessity of announcing monthly redemption arrangements. As usual, the Government statements were vague ; it was not clear that everybody was free to redeem, though in the event redemption was made practically without question. Redemption deprived the scheme of its immediate value to the Government ; for if real money had to be held to redeem the scrip, the Government had no more money than if it had not issued the scrip at all. The test of the scheme would be the proportion of scrip issued that would be presented for redemption on the stated days of the month. If the proportion were small, a small reserve in cash would be sufficient and the Government would profit on the remainder outstanding. On the first redemption days 60 per cent. of the scrip was returned. On this basis it was necessary to keep a cash reserve of 60 per cent. plus a margin of safety. The Government then knew that the game was not worth the candle. The scheme was allowed to peter out and in a few months was stone dead. Mr. Lucien Maynard had optimistically envisaged an issue of ten million dollars a month, but the maximum of scrip outstanding never reached a quarter-million dollars. The first issue had been in July-August

1936, and in April 1937 the Government announced the abandonment of scrip. All that was not retained as souvenirs was redeemed.[1]

The Prosperity Certificates were not Social Credit. This was proclaimed most officially and insistently as soon as their failure had become manifest. Attention was directed to another mirage. The " Social Credit Measures Act " passed in the summer of 1936 had referred to monthly dividends and interest-free loans, and also to loans with charges not exceeding 2 per cent. for administration. Social Credit was defined as " the power resulting from the belief inherent in society that its individual members in association can gain the objective they desire." A Social Credit Board was set up and authorized to " devise ways and means for the evaluation, conservation, enhancement and realization of the Social Credit of the people of the Province." To become eligible for Social Credit dividends, likewise for Social Credit loans, citizens had to register and sign a " covenant " drafted in very solemn terminology. The covenant was mere verbiage ; for nobody, least of all the Government, was bound by anything it contained. Yet there was an enormous rush of citizens to register. More than the 60 per cent. of the people who had voted for the Social Credit party came forward as covenanters to qualify for the dividends !

A good clergyman in Alberta, pained by my own published scepticism of Social Credit, sent me the text of the covenants and the Alberta Credit House Act and other legislation ; he also cordially invited me, in 1936, to be his guest in Alberta as the Province had become the world's foremost monetary laboratory. Much as I should have liked to visit Alberta, I was unable to accept the invitation ; moreover, I was in touch with other clerical friends in the Province who were more than doubtful about the whole Social Credit business.

It would scarcely be profitable to describe the machinery provided for in the Alberta Credit House Act, for the machinery was never in operation and the Act itself has been declared

[1] A full history of the scrip issue is given in an article in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Feb. 1938.

invalid by the Courts. What must be stated very emphatically, because it is not generally appreciated, is that Social Credit is a minor issue in Alberta. The big question is Public Debt—and private debt also. The Province, the municipalities and the farmers are in a hopeless bog of indebtedness. Stephen Leacock, the veteran Canadian economist who is internationally known by his lighter writings, has exposed the root of the trouble in Alberta and Canada :—

> If social credit were all, the Alberta situation would be just another comedy, signifying nothing. It would pass as it came, and the green fields would toss and wave again in the unending sunshine. The inner meaning and interest of the Aberhart regime lies in the debt question (public, corporate and even private) and in the money question. Mr. Aberhart did not make the debt. The debt made him. Even before his appearance the Province and its municipalities floundered in a morass of debt. It was a jig saw puzzle that would not fit. Mr. Aberhart smashed it.

The two other prairie provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, are economically in the same boat as Alberta, and for the same reasons, the severity of the depression in the wheat market following an orgy of borrowing and spending during the boom years. The prairie provinces were not more extravagant than the manufacturing, mining and commercial regions of Canada, but they had less resources to fall back upon when hard times came, and no markets were so depressed as the grain markets. Alberta wheat, which was $1.30 a bushel at the beginning of 1930, averaged 32 cents in 1932. The Province of Alberta has been a mushroom growth. Its population at the beginning of the century was only a tenth of what it is to-day. The rapid growth of Western Canada created a spirit of speculative optimism which is incredible in the Old World. In the boom years before the collapse of 1929 it was taken for granted by practically everybody, high and low, clerical and lay, that wealth and population would continue to grow at the dizzy pace then experienced.

People in England and Ireland are familiar, I presume, with the furniture stores' advertisements, clamouring for people to buy furniture and take years to pay for it. In the

whole of North America the hire-purchase system was, and is, applied to everything not less durable than a suit of clothes. Newspapers and magazines shriek with advertisements to buy every sort of luxury from radios to motor cars on the credit system. The farmers were subjected to a campaign of high-pressure salesmanship by the sellers of agricultural implements. When the fashion of buying these things is established, it becomes socially and even economically impossible for individuals to hold back. The banks joined in the ramp to sell loans to everybody with property that could be pledged as security, and the farmers and public bodies were swamped in debt.

Several years before Aberhart came into power the three prairie provinces were bankrupt. They avoided default only because year after year the Dominion Government came to the aid of the Provincial Governments, professedly to save the credit of Canada, though some people would say it was to protect the big financial institutions like banks, insurance companies and mortgage companies that held most of the bonds of the distressed Provincial Governments.

The Dominion Government was willing to do for the Aberhart Government as it was doing for other prairie Governments—namely, provide money necessary to avoid defaults. Premier Aberhart got $2\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars from Ottawa soon after his election. It must be said for Aberhart that, parallel with his heresies, he has pursued an orthodox line of good financial administration. He inherited an appalling financial condition. The Provincial Treasury could not even meet its liabilities for Savings Certificates, which represented the small savings of poor people. One of Premier Aberhart's first acts was to call to Alberta a leading business man from Montreal, Mr. R. J. Magor, to investigate and report on Provincial finances. It was the employment of Mr. Magor to which Major Douglas raised suspicious objections. Major Douglas held a paid position as adviser to the Alberta Government, but he declined invitations to visit the Province and give advice on the spot as to the inauguration of Social Credit.

On receiving Mr. Magor's report the Alberta Government

in November 1935, asked bondholders voluntarily to agree to a reduction of interest rates to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. There has been no question of the good faith of this proposal, and the creditors would have obtained the best security it was possible for Alberta to provide. The Bondholders' Committee refused to make any concession. The Committee employed experts to investigate "Alberta's Capacity to Pay," and a long statistical Report was produced asserting that it was within the capacity of the Government to meet the service of its debt. The Report was devastatingly criticized by independent economists.[1] One of these was Professor G. E. Britnell, of the University of Saskatchewan, who concludes his study with the pregnant sentence :—

> The rigidities in public finance caused by high interest rates and mounting indebtedness in an area characterised by a highly variable net income have thrown an increasing strain upon economic and political institutions in the Prairie Provinces, and Mr. Aberhart's drastic action is significant as the revolt of a debt-ridden agrarian frontier against a burden that was rapidly becoming intolerable, and as part of the fight of the farmers for a decent standard of living.

In 1935 interest payments took half the revenue of the Province. In January 1936, default on interest was avoided only by the assistance of the Dominion, but after that the policy of Alberta made Dominion co-operation impossible. Repudiatory legislation began. Interest rates on the Provincial debt were arbitrarily reduced by 50 per cent. By another Act (referring to private debts) on all debts contracted prior to July 1, 1932, the interest after that date was cancelled and any payments made were deducted from the principal. All this legislation, and more of the same kind, has been disallowed or declared invalid by the Courts. No less than eleven Acts of the Alberta Legislature under the Aberhart regime have been so treated, and the end is not yet. Apart from debtor-creditor relations, Alberta legislation now quashed struck at the banks and the newspapers, which were in the hands of the Aberhart Government's enemies. Taxes were imposed on the banks which have been declared pro-

[1] *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Feb. 1938.

hibitive and therefore unconstitutional. The newspapers were required to divulge sources of information and to devote space gratis to Government statements of its policy in reply to alleged misrepresentations. The Courts have ruled that a Provincial Government has no power thus to control the press. The atmosphere prevailing is indicated by the fact that last year a Social Credit member of the Legislature and an imported British "expert" on Social Credit were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for criminal libel inasmuch as they had published a pamphlet naming certain individuals as "bankers' toadies." The Dominion authorities were responsible for these proceedings, which to the Aberhart followers appeared to be nothing less than persecution. The Dominion Government released the prisoners before their terms were completed.

The Aberhart Government is not perturbed by the nullification of its legislation, for it makes political capital out of it by saying that the "Big Interests" won't let Social Credit show what it can do. The final word on the validity of the legislation has to be said by the Privy Council in London. Besides the eleven Acts already blocked, there are six other Acts of Alberta of which the Dominion Government is now considering disallowance. Three Acts in particular have created a furore in financial circles and there is a tremendous drive to get them quashed. One of these, the Securities Tax Act, imposes a tax of two per cent. on the principal sum owing on mortgages. The tax was payable June 1, 1938. Failing payment on that date there is a penalty of five per cent. per month. Furthermore, all owners of mortgages affecting land in Alberta have to file an elaborate document giving particulars of the mortgages under penalty of a fine of ten dollars a day for each mortgage. More than 20,000 Alberta mortgages are owned by corporations, mortgage companies, insurance companies, etc., with headquarters outside Alberta, and it is said that there are also 21,000 mortgages held by individuals.

Despite a raging, tearing campaign by the creditor interests, the Dominion Government had not made up its mind on

disallowance when June 1 arrived. The big companies then announced that they had neither paid the tax nor filed particulars. The latter task, they said, was a physical impossibility within the time allowed. On the other hand there was a report from Alberta that an enlarged staff of clerks was busy handling returns received by the Government, presumably from individual mortgagees. Statisticians have worked out that the Alberta Government could theoretically collect 270 million dollars a year in taxes and fines on mortgages if all holders of mortgages refused to comply with the law, as the bigger holders are doing ! The big holders express confidence that the law will never be enforced.

Another act is the Home Owners Security Act, under which no mortgage creditor may foreclose on an urban home without paying, regardless of the value of the property foreclosed, 2,000 dollars to the person whose home is foreclosed. This virtually bars the foreclosure of small homes. Farm homes are protected more directly from the possibility of foreclosure. It should be mentioned that few people in Alberta live in rented homes : most occupiers are owners with their property mortgaged.

The third Act is the Limitation of Actions Act, which says that action to realize on any debt incurred prior to 1936 must be taken before July 1, 1940. The aim and effect of the Act is to force creditors to seek immediately for revision of loan contracts, revision which is likely to affect principal as well as interest. The terms of revision would go before a Debt Adjustment Board which reflects Mr. Aberhart's attitude to creditors and debtors.

It is scarcely necessary to mention that the creditor interests of Canada, centred chiefly in the East, are greatly worried by these developments in the debtor West. If Alberta can, in the language of the country, " get away with " this sort of thing it is highly probable that Saskatchewan and Manitoba will follow suit. The Dominion Government is doubtless full of sympathy for the creditors and would love to help them, but disallowance of Provincial legislation is political dynamite. All the Provinces are jealous of Dominion inter-

ference with their affairs, and " disallowance " has come to be regarded as exceptional as personal interference by the Monarch.

Mr. Aberhart, schoolmaster by profession, who first became prominent as a radio evangelist, has developed into an expert politician, and he is an outstanding orator and popular leader. It is easy to refer to words and actions of his which smack of charlatanry, but what would electioneering be without charlatanry ? Aberhart has a reputation for personal integrity which only the very best men in Canadian politics enjoy.

" Social Credit " may be scorned by trained economists ; it may have no possibilities whatever as a constructive scheme ; but it has large possibilities as a political slogan in a country like Canada, all the more because it is beyond the understanding of those who place their hopes in it. It is as leader of the debtor classes against the creditors that Mr. Aberhart may make history. He can do little as long as his power is confined to Provincial governments, even if there are Social Credit governments in the three Prairie Provinces ; but if Social Credit captures the West, as it may do, it will be a big factor in the Dominion Parliament.

A very interesting development is that Social Credit has gained a foothold in Quebec in some French-Canadian Catholic circles which, though restricted, are worthy of esteem. The Social Credit League of Quebec Province held its first annual congress on May 29 last. It was decided to establish relations with Creditists in the English-speaking Provinces and to put forward candidates at the next Provincial election. M. Gregoire, a member of the present Quebec Legislature and quite an outstanding personality, has joined the movement. Like so many, perhaps all, honest Social Creditists, he accepts the new gospel on faith without professing to be able to understand it. He told the Congress : " I have not yet thoroughly studied the doctrine of Social Credit, but I know one thing, that Social Credit is more social than banking credit."

HENRY SOMERVILLE

THE MILLENARY OF POPE SYLVESTER II

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.

THAT the small town of Aurillac in Auvergne is preparing to celebrate ere the close of 1938 the thousandth anniversary of the birth of Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II, may have struck some readers of the announcement with some mild surprise. "Who really was Pope Sylvester II, and why should his memory be recalled after the lapse of a thousand years?"[1] Others will recall him as a vague enigmatical figure, a man of strange genius suddenly gleaming out and vanishing amid the darkness of a dark age. Yet, whatever be the shadows or the gleams that trouble our view of him, Gerbert Sylvester is a personage eminently worthy of study; and his character, doings, and associations need not present any deep mystery to a careful investigator, or even to a casual student of the writings he has left or of what modern investigators and vulgarisers have written about him.[2]

It has become a tradition that the age in which Sylvester lived was the "darkest" since the dawn of Christianity. Many facts justify the imputation. Hardly any of the events that we look on as epoch-making in our records belong to the tenth or the opening of the eleventh century. Nor do we extend to those centuries the benefit of that charitable saying: "Blessed is the people that has no history." On the contrary, we regard it as a time when culture, learning, religion and social order were engaged in what seemed a hopeless struggle against their opposites—against destructive visible forces that were thronging in from North, East and South, and against chronic lawlessness in the bosom of Christian Europe itself. And recent scholarship has done little to brighten this outlook.

[1] The exact day of his birth is uncertain: conjectures vary from 938 to 940. His name has been spelt either "Sylvester" or "Silvester."

[2] Among easily accessible sources of information may be consulted the excellent article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (vol. 25). For deeper studies may be recommended Rohrbacher *Histoire de l'Eglise* (vol. 13, ed. 1845), together with Hefele-Leclercq *Histoire des Conciles* (vol. IV part 2). Abbé Mourret (*Histoire de l'Eglise* vol. IV) gives a full, but over-idealised, portrait of the first French Pope.

"It is difficult," writes Mr. Christopher Dawson, "to exaggerate the horror and confusion of the dark age that followed the collapse of the Carlovingian experiment"—for about a century or more after 880. "Difficult," but not impossible; and we think that Mr. Dawson has exaggerated the total effect of darkness which that age ought to produce on the mind.[1]

"We have looked for light," wrote one of the Popes, "and behold darkness; we seek succour, and we find none. We dare not emerge from the walls of our city, in which there reigns an intolerable storm of persecution. Neither our spiritual son, the Emperor, nor any man of any nation brings us help." While tyrannic barons and counts terrorized the regions around Rome, and so-called "patricians," "Senators" and "consuls" tore each other in its streets, a succession of popes and anti-popes followed each other with bewildering rapidity. The most unworthy influences presided over their elections—or depositions. One is starved to death, another strangled, the dead body of another is dragged through the streets and flung into the Tiber. When help did come in the shape of a strong armed deliverer, an exorbitant price in the form of subserviency was likely to be demanded. Darkness there certainly was—darkness that threatened the centres of light.

Yet the very extremity of these horrors, their violence and persistence, seemed to make singularly manifest the prevailing protection that Providence extended over the Church. No merely human institution, least of all one claiming

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[1] One hesitates to carp at details in so valuable a book as "The Making of Europe" where many important truths are set for the first time in a true light. If our estimate of the tenth century is more favourable than Mr. Dawson's, this is because it looks above all to certain purely religious elements of that age, whereas his scope throughout is political and social. In taking some sixty years—880 to 940—as a peculiarly "dark" period, he is, we think, justified; our apologia concerns rather the following sixty years—940 to 1000.

As to Mr. Dawson's one quotation from a contemporary council—that of St. Basle, of which we have presently to speak—as a pronouncement on the decadence and "bankruptcy" of the tenth-century Papacy, it is unfortunately chosen. The council of St. Basle is treated by Mansi and other authorities as a mere "conciliabulum." Only thirteen bishops attended it; they gathered to defend, with an *animus* undoubtedly political, an uncanonical act; and its proceedings were energetically repudiated by at least two popes, one of whom—but we must not anticipate our own story! See Hefele-Leclercq's account of the whole matter—in which, however, Dom Leclercq's remarks have a decidedly anti-papal tinge.

religious leadership, could possibly have survived such a tempest and not have collapsed morally if not literally. Apostolic prestige and infallibility—what hope of their surviving? Yet survive they did. Never during that convulsed period did the Christian world lose the respect and veneration due to the tomb of the Apostles, to the "Apostle" himself (their usual name for the pope), to the Eternal City and all it stood for. Kings, nobles and commoners, men and women, came as penitents or pilgrims, just as they had come in the days of Gregory the Great or Leo the Great, and were scarcely more repelled by the disorders that met their eyes, than were the pilgrims to Jerusalem when they beheld the standard of the Saracen exalted over the scene of the Crucifixion.

As for infallibility, no lawful occupant of the See of Peter during that terrible time compromised by official word or act the integrity of the faith of Peter. On the contrary, those numerous popes showed themselves faithful guardians of both faith and morals, while some were personally men of unexceptionable virtues.

Nor can we think it just, or quite consistent with Mr. Dawson's own narrative, to say that, during the tenth century, "Papacy and Empire alike slid down into the abyss of anarchy and barbarism, which threatened to engulf the whole of Western civilisation." Neither was thus engulfed. To say no more of the Papacy, what of the Empire—what of the four Saxon Emperors—Otto I (the Great), Otto II, Otto III and St. Henry? (The last-named just followed the close of the tenth century). Their line may fairly be called the most honourable of all those dynasties that have held the sceptre of the Holy Roman Empire.

And if faults and errors are to be found in each of these rulers, they might seem to be compensated for by the singular virtues that adorned their kindred and familiars. Otto the Great's mother was St. Mechtildis (or Matilda), a promotress of peace and a patroness of religion. His brother, who became his Chancellor and Archbishop of Cologne, was St. Bruno—the perfect model, it has been declared, of an ecclesiastical statesman. His wife—after the death of Editha, his first wife,

of the lineage of King Alfred—was Adelaide of Burgundy, St. Adelaide, who from his death in 973 up to her own in 999 was almost constantly occupied as regent of some part of the Empire, quelling disturbances and promoting the spread of religion. Her son, Otto II, was not a great emperor, but he had the merit of choosing for his Chancellor and for Archbishop of Cologne St. Willigis, who, among other services, promoted the elevation of the future emperor, St. Henry II. Otto's wife, not a saint but a woman of ability, the Greek princess Theophano, chose as tutor for her sons St. Bernward, illustrious as Bishop of Hildesheim.

Monasteries were the chief centres of all civilizing influences in those days, and amongst them stood forth Cluny in Central France; there ruled in succession from 921 to 1048 three famous abbots—Sts. Odo, Mayeul and Odilo. Missions to the heathen remind us especially of two great figures—the two Sts. Adalbert—of Prague and of Magdeburg. On the borders of the Empire we find a saint crowned as king in 936—St. Wenceslaus, trained to adorn the throne of Bohemia by his saintly grandmother, Ludmila. In 912 Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, embraced Christianity and was baptized. King Peter of Bulgaria (916-961) received his crown from the Roman Pontiff and devoted much energy to combating the Bogumil heretics. England rejoiced in the reign of Edgar "the Peaceful" (d. 975) and in the chancellorship and primacy for half a century of St. Dunstan. In Denmark under the lead of St. Harold, in Norway under that of Olaf Trygvasson, in Russia under the powerful autocrat Wladimir, the acceptance of Christianity was associated with the prevalence of firm and orderly government. Hungary, destined to be for centuries a bulwark of the faith, rose into prominence under the sceptre of St. Stephen, who, marrying the sister of the Emperor, St. Henry, and thereby strengthening both crown and church, consecrated his kingdom to the Virgin Mother of God, gave to it an ecclesiastical organisation and a Christian constitution, and was crowned "Apostolic King" of Hungary by Pope Sylvester II.

Can this be the tenth century we are writing of? Is this

the lamentable age of a down-slide into barbarism and anarchy, of the threatened "engulfing" of all Western civilisation? Yes, this is the tenth century—it is the "white side" of its story, no doubt, not the whole story. But why should we ignore or belittle this white side?

It was in the midst of that century that grew up Gerbert of Aurillac. Of humble origin, he was trained by the monks of his native town in the rudiments of those sciences that he afterwards cultivated and taught with European renown. Patrons who admired the youth's talent brought him to Spain; and at Barcelona, Cordova, Seville and elsewhere he added to his scientific lore—but not, it would seem, by direct contact with Arabian scholars. He went on, with equal ardour, to the study of philosophy and theology. A bishop who had guided his studies brought him to Rome. This was in 971; the Pope, John XIII, recommended him to the Emperor, Otto the Great; he, in turn, recommended him to his friend and supporter Adalbero, the able Archbishop of Rheims, who was in quest of a highly-qualified *écolâtre* or director of his cathedral school. To Rheims, in the train of Otto's ambassador, Gerbert went; as teacher at Rheims he had among his pupils Robert son of the Count of Paris, a well-behaved but not clever boy, who was destined to reign long as king of France. The master's fame spread far and wide. It reached the ears of another notable professor and disputant, Otric of Magdeburg, who, consistently with that fine internationalism that tempered the quarrelsomeness of the Middle Ages, had been brought from the North to teach in the imperial city of Ravenna. A challenge passed between the two professors; it regarded the correct scheme of dividing and grouping the sciences; and presently Gerbert came for the encounter to Ravenna. A tournament of learning and a clash of syllogisms took place in the presence of Otto II and a distinguished gathering; it went on till nightfall and was ended only by the weariness of the spectators. We are not told what the result was—except that Otric died not long afterwards.

It may, however, have been partly as a recognition of Gerbert's part in this affair that Otto now presented him as

Abbot to the famous Irish foundation of Bobbio. That mountain monastery, once famous for its wide-flung beneficence, was by 980 "at once very rich and very poor"; it held nominally splendid endowments in lands and revenues, but was so oppressed and plundered by neighbouring lords and casual freebooters that its monks often lacked the barest necessaries. Finding life at Bobbio a very uneasy business and devoid of the facilities desired by a scholar, Gerbert soon resigned his charge and went back to Rheims.

Some four or five years of renewed activity in teaching and study followed. Then came a series of events, one of which, though it made little noise at the time, has profoundly affected the whole subsequent course of history, while all of them were important in the career of Gerbert. One of their strangest consequences was to bring forward this man, destined to be the most illustrious pope of his age, in the light of a pioneer of Gallicanism.

* * * * *

"Hugh the Great," Count of Paris, and his son, Hugh Capet, descended by a junior line from Charlemagne, had long swayed with real (though not nominal) royal power that part of the dismembered Carolingian empire that we now call France. The elder descendants of the great emperor, feeble and lost in family quarrels, had utterly failed either to protect or to rule their hereditary lands. The clergy of France, dreading further disorders, had encouraged the younger Capet's ambition to add the style and trappings of royalty to the power he already wielded. Among them was Adalbero of Rheims, with his counsellor Gerbert; and at Rheims in 987, at the hands of Adalbero, Hugh was crowned king of France.

Gerbert at once became an important personage. We find him acting as the king's amanuensis in writing to the court of Byzantium a formal request for the hand of one of the imperial princesses. Six months later Adalbero died, and at the last recommended that Gerbert should be appointed his successor. For reasons, however, difficult to appreciate, Hugh passed over this recommendation and promoted to the see of Rheims a certain Arnulf, prince of the Carolingian line, a

personage of little worth. Within half a year Arnulf proved false to his benefactor and treacherously betrayed the city of Rheims to his Carolingian relatives. The move failed of success, and Hugh carried off Arnulf captive. With him was taken Gerbert—who, however, was not guilty or suspected of any disloyalty. Then Hugh and the suffragans of Rheims demanded Arnulf's deposition. A painful situation arose. The Pope, John XV, hampered on every side and friendly to the Carolingian line, proved difficult of access and delayed his answer indefinitely. After a year's interval, Hugh, his son Robert, and a certain number of bishops and abbots held an assembly at St. Basle near Rheims to judge the case of Arnulf. The monastic part of the assembly opposed the proceedings as contrary to the canons, and insisted that the right of pronouncing sentence in so grave a matter belonged only to the Holy See. But the bishops and the two kings showed themselves of another mind. The Bishop of Orleans, named (like the accused) Arnulf, delivered an eloquent but violent harangue, in which we find the whole essence of ecclesiastical Gallicanism.[1] He said :—

> Rome ought to be honoured, but not to the prejudice of the sacred canons. The African bishops in 418 did not admit Rome's claim to supersede the final judgments of provincial councils, holding that God does not refuse his assistance to many minds while bestowing it on one. If we are held to a different rule, let us at least have a good pope ! We have taken all the steps required by the prerogatives of the Holy See. Rome ought to be honoured and in difficult cases consulted ; but if her response is unjust, then let her be anathema. We have seen ignorance, corruption and venality reign at Rome ; yet kings and bishops have addressed themselves to her. But she turns a deaf ear.[2]

The council proceeded to the deposition of Arnulf of Rheims, compelled him to make an abject confession of guilt, stripped him of his episcopal insignia, and then, at the king's desire, elected Gerbert Archbishop in his place.

These were violent proceedings, and their violence was

[1] " Ecclesiastical Gallicanism," we may recall, is concerned with the relations of bishops to the Holy See ; " political Gallicanism " with the relation of the Church, in Church matters, to the civil powers.

[2] The discourse of Arnulf of Orleans is given in full in Hefele-Leclercq, as well as in Mansi's " Concilia " ; but Mansi treats this council as a " conciliabulum."

emphasized by extreme haste. Never did an ecclesiastical assembly get through its work more expeditiously. Its activities, including the solemn consecration of the new archbishop, occupied only five days. As regarded his own elevation, Gerbert wrote later: "I long resisted." He flattered himself! "Doubtless," says Dom Leclercq, with that fine irony of which he is a master, "in such troublous times two days of resistance, or at least of hesitation, had appeared a long time."

But the German bishops, St. Willigis of Mainz at their head, declined to accept the findings of the St. Basle assembly, and by an appeal induced Rome to move. John XV was invited in courteous terms by Hugh Capet to come to France and examine matters for himself; the Pope declined the invitation, but sent two legates. They were received with little deference by the French bishops. On the contrary, the representatives of three provinces, assembled in the presence of the younger king, Robert "the Pious," after hearing a report read by Gerbert on the whole Rheims affair, confirmed what had been done at St. Basle. Gerbert said, among other points in defence of that assembly and his own position: "The common law of the Church is the gospel, the apostles, the prophets, the received sacred canons, and those decrees of the Apostolic See that are not at variance with any of these." And, adopting a phrase from St. Jerome, he gave a still more epigrammatic expression of Gallicanism: "The world is greater than the city."

Yet it would be a mistake, we believe, to conclude from all this that Gerbert was either stock-fast in his opinions, or strongly anti-Roman in his mental attitude, or keenly ambitious. Such was not his character. Rather does he represent the intellectual man who, caught in a wrong position, defends it and himself with ability and force, while he feels no strong internal conviction. Gerbert's disposition was speculative and pliant rather than quarrelsome or violently ambitious. At times, indeed, we find him taking some pains to reconcile the recent proceedings with the claims and dignity of the Roman See. He develops ingenious reasons for holding

as legitimate the deposition of Arnulf and his own appointment by the St. Basle assembly.

Meantime he kept aloof from Rheims—having been, indeed, during some six months suspended from sacred functions by the Papal legate—and, as Arnulf was kept in prison by the king he had betrayed, anarchy prevailed in the ancient metropolis. Gerbert's responsibility in the matter drew upon him a letter of reproof from the aged Empress Adelaide. Then in 995 the legate came to Rheims and cited before him both the dethroned and the enthroned archbishop. He appears to have spoken and acted with energy, and though Gerbert defended himself with ability, he was deposed, and Arnulf was restored to his episcopal charge and dignity. Gerbert, declaring that he appealed to the sovereign pontiff as against his legate, then left France for Italy and placed himself under the protection of Otto III. Otto, who had long conceived a strong admiration for Gerbert, now engaged him to teach him mathematics. Meantime, Pope John XV died; the powers of the legate Leo expired; a new pope was elected under the influence of Otto. The first German Pope had assumed the papal tiara, a cousin of Otto's, Bruno, a young man of only twenty-three years, but spoken of by all as admirably gifted, who took the title of Gregory V. Otto could now easily express his sense of admiration and gratitude towards Gerbert. He lifted him out of all the troubles of Rheims and made him Archbishop of Ravenna. That see, of ancient importance, was the second of the three great R's that marked the ascending career of the man of Aurillac.

Transit in R, Gerbertus in R, papa vigens R

was a Latin line, credited by some to Gerbert himself, by others to the Devil on the occasion of an exorcism.

While the new Pope thus showed his goodwill towards Gerbert, he gave away no principle as regarded past events. He declared that the election of Gerbert had been an uncanonical invasion of the See of Rheims; he suspended from their spiritual functions the judges of the *conciliabulum* of St. Basle; he restored provisionally Arnulf to the see,

indicating that his status would be the subject of a future judgment of the Holy See.

The final judgment came a year later; and the judge who pronounced it was Gerbert himself! He had become Pope under the name of Sylvester II. Gregory V had closed his brief career at the age of twenty-seven. The third great R was now Gerbert's to have and to hold: Rheims, Ravenna and Rome had all come to him within ten years.

His decision in the case of his former rival was not unworthy of his high position. He reinstated Arnulf fully, yet without contradicting the judgment given in 991. "It belongs," he wrote, "to the Apostolic Primacy not only to take account of sinners, but also to raise up the fallen." He constates that the deposition of Arnulf had "lacked the assent of Rome," yet does not say that this defect rendered it null. In any case, he decides, "St. Peter, with whose power no mortal can be compared, has re-integrated in all his rights the deposed prelate, and henceforth no one was to bring against him either his faults or his condemnation." Thus ended Gerbert's Gallicanism.

* * * * *

Never, perhaps, has any occupant of the Papal See brought to it such a wide and comprehensive genius as Gerbert of Aurillac. Imperfect as are the documents that survive either from his pen or concerning him, they hardly leave a doubt that his death in 1003, after only four years of pontificate, must be ranked, although he had reached the age of sixty-three, among the many tragic instances of popes whose end seemed to cut short the fairest promise of a great career. That he was "the most distinguished statesman and the most accomplished scholar of his age" is the comprehensive panegyric of one who has thoroughly studied Sylvester's personality and career, namely, Dr. Thomas A. Archer, writing in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. His short pontificate was distracted, unhappily, by the ambitious dreams and practical failures of his young friend and associate Otto III. Yet his record of action is far from being ill-filled. He judged and fearlessly upheld justice in some cases where might was armed

against right. When King Robert the Pious gave scandal for a time by an unhappy matrimonial aberration, his old master and friend of later days brought him to repentance with uncompromising severity. He watched with paternal solicitude over the nascent churches of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, founding the three metropolitan sees of Gnesen, Gran and Prague. His encouragement of such rulers as Stephen of Hungary has already been commemorated. He sounded the first call to a crusade against the Mohammedans who were tyrannising over the Holy Places—appealing, in the name of Jerusalem herself, to all Christians on behalf of her afflicted people and of the pilgrims who came to visit her shrines.

That he promoted the welfare of monasteries and schools might easily be conjectured from his career as churchman and scholar. Fame had long placed him at the head of the scholars of his age. That age was not distinguished in philosophical or theological speculation, neither was Gerbert. He showed, strangely enough, no acquaintance with either Greek or Arabic. Yet he was supreme in those sciences which medieval Europe—though the debt has been exaggerated—largely owed to the transmission of Arabic scholars. In mathematics, music and astronomy, and especially in the practical application of those sciences, he particularly won the applause of his contemporaries; they speak also of his acquirements in medicine and physiology. For his pupils in astronomy he constructed elaborate globes of the terrestrial and celestial spheres, on which the courses of the planets were marked. He led them out to watch the nightly movements of the heavens, and used for his observation tubes smoothly hollowed out—in which, however, he does not appear to have used lenses. His speculations on musical theory were so abstruse that many found them too difficult to follow; but he successfully constructed organs and seems to have employed the power of steam to work them. For facilitating arithmetical and perhaps geometrical processes he devised an abacus with twenty-seven divisions and a thousand counters of horn. At Magdeburg he set up a clock or sundial that was looked upon as a wonder. As to his worth as a teacher, his first biographer, Richer,

speaks enthusiastically of his methods and success. He believed in a strong foundation of logic as a security for higher studies. Through Porphyry, Aristotle and Cicero he led his pupils into dialectic and rhetoric. Free discussion was always encouraged. In his course of humanities he tried to include Virgil, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Horace, Persius, his own knowledge of whom is testified to by his letters. He was eager in the collection of manuscripts of the classic authors, spending on these all the money he could command. That he was well versed in the scriptures is shown by the ready flow of Biblical quotations from his pen.

Legend-mongers of a following generation circulated myths as to the preternatural or diabolical origin of his knowledge, his skill, and his rapid rise to the highest eminence. We possess enough of his writings to convince us (if need be) of the absurdity of these fictions. Gerbert was not a saint; he was doubtless not so great in character as in intellect; but he was a very good man and a lovable man as well as a genius.

The close of a supreme pontificate so promising was saddened, and perhaps hastened, by the evil fortunes of his pupil and friend, the young Otto III. This inheritor of Roman and Byzantine ideals had dreamt of a grand revival of the old imperial world-domination as it stood in the days of Constantine; and that the older man was not unvisited by a similar dream was plainly enough indicated by the name he assumed with the tiara—a name recalling that Pope Sylvester who had once co-operated with the victorious inaugurator of the Christianized empire. But it was not to be. Otto passed away, aged only twenty-two, but utterly discouraged, in the year 1002; and ere the close of another year the Pope had followed him to the grave. An entirely new record of struggles, defeats and victories then opened up for the world of the eleventh century.

George O'Neill

THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

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Part II*

WE have seen that, at the time of the General Council of Vienne, Pope Clement V was petitioned by the Archbishop of Dublin to sanction the erection of a new *studium generale* in Dublin, and that he issued a bull giving the necessary papal grant for this purpose on July 13, 1312. Eight years later the new *studium generale* was inaugurated at St. Patrick's, Dublin, by his successor, Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor. What had happened in the meantime to delay the execution of the papal bull ? And what manner of man was this new archbishop, who was to be the true founder of the new University of Dublin ?

Alexander de Bicknor stands out as one of the ablest English administrators in Ireland in the first half of the fourteenth century. He first appears in the Anglo-Irish records as an itinerant justice in Tipperary during the years 1304-7. In June 1307, Edward I appointed him his escheator in Ireland, and he held this office until the King's death in the following month. He crossed over to England at the news of Edward's death, and was evidently successful in winning the favour of the new sovereign ; for he was appointed treasurer in Ireland by young Edward II on October 28.[1] For the next six years he held this office without a break, though the King had appointed Archbishop Lech as his successor in the treasury on May 13, 1313—shortly before Lech's unexpected death. During these six years Bicknor seems to have won the confidence not only of the King but of the two Dublin chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's.

* For part I see June issue.

[1] For Bicknor's early appointments, see : *Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1302-7), Nos. 380 ; 558 ; 618 ; 665 ; and *Cal. Pat. R.* (1307-13), p. 13.

Bicknor held the prebend of Maynooth in the chapter of St. Patrick's; and he was unanimously chosen as archbishop elect by a vote of the two chapters in the winter of 1310-11, when Richard Havering had at last resigned his claim to the archbishopric. As we have seen, the King's influence was used to substitute his favourite clerk, John Lech, in place of the Dublin archbishop elect, and Clement V gave way to the English King. But Bicknor had not lost the King's confidence, and he was one of the noblemen whom Edward II chose to represent him at the Council of Vienne in 1310. For some unknown reason that commission came to nothing, and Bicknor returned to Ireland as treasurer in the summer or autumn of that year. He was still acting as treasurer when news reached Dublin that Archbishop Lech had died in England on August 10, 1313.

A new election was held in Dublin, most probably in the autumn of that year. Bicknor, who had been unanimously selected by the two chapters in 1310, was once more elected by a majority of the chapter of St. Patrick's; but the rival chapter elected Walter Thornbury, chancellor of the kingdom, whom the late archbishop had named as his vicar general in October, 1312. An appeal to the papal court was inevitable, and both sides carried their case to Clement V at Avignon.[1] But Edward II was not definitely in favour of Alexander de Bicknor, and he wrote a strong letter of recommendation to the Pope on January 29, 1314. Thornbury was not so easily defeated, and he set out from Dublin for England and France to lay his case before the Pope in person. But the ship in which he sailed was wrecked in Dublin Bay, and he was drowned with one hundred and fifty-six of his companions. This accident seems to have taken place early in the year 1314, and Clement V may not have heard the news when death ended his sad pontificate on April 30. He had appointed one of the cardinals to inquire into the dispute; but no decision could be reached until a new Pope was elected. The

[1] The full story of this disputed election is to be found in John XXII's bull of August 20, 1317. There is a copy in the "Novum Registrum" (vol. I, p. 437), now in the archives of Christ Church Cathedral. Edward II's letter to Clement V will be found in Rymer's *Foedera* (first ed.), III, p. 468.

process of election was delayed by intrigues between the two groups of French cardinals (most of whom had been created by the late Pope) and the few surviving Italian cardinals of earlier pontificates. Alexander de Bicknor was at Avignon during all these long negotiations. In a letter dated June 29, 1314, Edward II names him as one of three chosen representatives who are to convey his royal wishes to the cardinals by word of mouth.[1] Two full years went by, and no election had yet been made. Finally, on August 7, 1316, the French Cardinal Jacques Duèse was chosen Pope, and took the name of John XXII.

Another year went by, whilst the formal inquiry into the facts of the disputed election in Dublin was completed and evidence received as to the death of Bicknor's rival by drowning three years earlier. Meanwhile a disputed election at Cashel was settled by the Pope, who set aside three rival candidates and translated William FitzJohn, bishop of Ossory, a friend of the English interest, to Cashel on March 26, 1317; his place at Ossory was taken by a London friar minor, Richard Ledred, on April 24. Bicknor was evidently acting as archbishop elect of Dublin at this time, for John XXII issued letters to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, on March 29 and April 10, ordering them to use their influence against Bruce and the rebel Scots. Four months later a papal bull was issued (August 20, 1317), providing Alexander de Bicknor (who renounced his claims as archbishop elect) to the vacant see of Dublin.[2] The Pope consecrated the new archbishop with his own hands at Avignon; and the bull of provision to the see was sent to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's and to the people of the city and diocese of Dublin, bidding them receive their new archbishop with all due obedience.

Bicknor probably left Avignon for England soon after his consecration; but he did not return to Dublin until the autumn of 1318. Meanwhile the papal bulls providing him to the see were solemnly published at Christ Church on

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[1]. Rymer, *Foedera* III, p. 480.

[2] For these dates, see *Jean XXII : Lettres Communes*, ed. G. Mollat, vol. I, Nos. 3302; 3346; 3393; 3578; and 4807; also John XXII's letter in Theiner, p. 194-5.

February 2, 1318.[1] On August 11 of that year Edward II appointed the new archbishop his justiciar in Ireland and summoned him to attend a parliament at York on August 25. In September he left England and landed at Youghal, having been absent from Ireland for more than four years. On October 9 he reached Dublin, and was welcomed by a great procession of the clergy and laity. For almost twenty years Dublin had been without a resident archbishop. Here at last was a man whom they knew and trusted; and who was known also to enjoy the confidence of both King and Pope. Five days after his arrival good news came to Dublin from Dundalk. Edward Bruce, whose army had been threatening Dublin and the neighbourhood for the past two years, had been defeated and slain in battle. The new archbishop, so the citizens of Dublin must have felt, had returned as a harbinger of better days to come.

One of his first cares was to summon a provincial synod. The constitutions of a provincial synod, held in Dublin by Alexander de Bicknor, have been preserved in the Red Book of Ossory, but without a note as to the date of the synod.[2] Wilkins has printed these constitutions in the second volume of his *Concilia* under the year 1348; but this date is plainly impossible. Bicknor was then an old and embittered man, who had been living for more than twenty years under sentence of suspension and excommunication; he was also at that time involved in a violent quarrel with his suffragan, Bishop Ledred of Ossory. Since the sentence of excommunication, which casts a shadow over Bicknor's long pontificate, was probably imposed in 1324 or 1325, we must look to the first years of his work in Dublin for the date of this synod; and there is some reason for suspecting that the synod was held in 1319 or 1320. As we shall see, the archbishop undoubtedly established the new *studium generale* in Dublin in 1320; but the bull of Clement V, which gave him power to do this, required

[1] *Annals of Ireland*, printed by Gilbert in his *Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin*, II. pp. 357; 359; *Cal. Pat. R.* (1317-21), pp. 196; 199; *Cal. Close R.* (1318-23), p. 99.

[2] Bicknor's constitutions have been printed by Wilkins, *Concilia*, II, pp. 746-50. For the date of the document, see H. J. Lawlor's calendar of the Red Book of Ossory, in *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. XXVII (1908), pp. 170-74.

him first to consult his suffragans before taking this formal action. We may thus fairly suppose that the archbishop got in touch with his suffragans in 1319, or early in 1320; and the most obvious means of effecting this contact was to summon a provincial synod. Bicknor left Ireland for France early in 1324, and did not return until 1328, when he was already under sentence of excommunication. The latest possible date for these constitutions is thus 1323; and the date which I have suggested, 1319 or early in 1320, seems most probable, though it cannot be taken as certain.

One other point may be mentioned here, for it has a certain bearing on the archbishop's work for the University of Dublin. In the edition of Ware's *Bishops* which Harris prepared in 1739, the following passage occurs: "There is extant in the Registry of St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, an account of a remarkable sermon preached by him (Bicknor) in Christ Church against sloth and idleness; wherein he bitterly complained of the mischiefs arising from the stragglers and beggars that infested the city and suburbs of Dublin; and, so warm was he in his discourse that he cursed every one that would not exercise some trade or calling every day more or less. His sermon had such influence that the then Mayor of Dublin exercised his authority upon the occasion, and would not suffer an idle person within his liberties, but such who spun or knit as they walked the streets; even the begging Friars were not excused."[1] Once again, no date is given for this remarkable sermon, and the register of St. Mary's Abbey has been lost since Ware's day. But there is a passage in the constitutions of the Dublin synod which suggests a reason for the sermon. In the fourth decree complaint is made that certain religious men have failed to observe the prohibitions of canon law, by which they are inhibited from inducing the laity to make a vow or promise that they will be buried in their churches, and from administering extreme unction, eucharist or matrimony without licence from the parish clergy,

[1] Ware's *Works*, ed. Harris, vol. II, p. 331. Ware had the register of St. Mary's Abbey among his manuscripts, and it passed after his death to the Earl of Clarendon. It was catalogued by Gibson in 1692, but has since disappeared: see Gilbert's preface to his *Chartularies*, p. xi.

and from absolving excommunicated persons without special faculties. Every diocesan bishop is required to make a yearly inquisition on these matters and to proclaim the law publicly to the people in the vernacular tongue; if he find any transgressors, he is to denounce them publicly and cause them to be publicly denounced to the people four times a year by the parish clergy. This statute is undoubtedly aimed at the mendicant orders, who were involved in a long contest with the diocesan authorities all through this century on these very points of canon law. The archbishop's vigorous denunciation of beggars—not excluding the friars, who claimed the papal privilege of begging in the name of religious poverty without the monastic obligation to work—seems to belong to the same line of action; and it is very probable that this sermon was delivered in Dublin soon after the synod which required the diocesan authorities to make these laws known to the people. If this interpretation be correct, then we shall not be surprised to find that the Anglo-Irish Franciscans and Dominicans were less enthusiastic for the archbishop's scheme of a new *studium generale*, in which they were asked to take their part under his strict personal control.

Whatever the date of Bicknor's provincial synod, there is no doubt at all as to the date of his formal establishment of the new *studium generale* in Dublin. A copy of his *Ordinatio pro Universitate Dublinensi* has been preserved in Archbishop Alan's register, and it is dated: *Dublin. decimo die ffebruarii, anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo, et consecrationis nostre quarto.*[1] Since the English year was reckoned at this period as beginning on March 25, this date should be read as Febuary 10, 1321; and this date is confirmed by the mention of the year as the fourth since the archbishop's consecration. In the Anglo-Irish Annals which Gilbert had edited with the deeds of St. Mary's Abbey, in Clyn's Annals, and in the short Annals of Ross the new University of Dublin is recorded as having begun in the year 1320.[2] We may take it that the

[1] Bicknor's *Ordinatio* has been printed, from Archbishop Alan's register (fol. 76), by Monck Mason in his *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, Appendix, pp. x—xi.

[2] Gilbert's *Chartularies*, p. 361; Clyn's *Annals* (ed. Butler), p. 14; *Annals of Ross* (edited by Butler with Clyn's Annals), p. 42.

formal opening took place in that year, some months before the publication of the archbishop's *Ordinatio.* If we date the provincial synod to the early months of that year, all the evidence fits well together.

The rest of the entry in Gilbert's Anglo-Irish Annals is as follows: "The first master in the same university was Brother William de Hardits, of the order of preachers, who solemnly incepted in sacred theology under the said archbishop. Brother Henry Cogry, of the order of friars minor, was made the second master in the same faculty. William de Rodyard, dean of the cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, was made the third master; and he solemnly incepted in canon law. He was made the first chancellor of the said university. Brother Edmund de Kermerdyn was made the fourth master in sacred theology." It will be noticed that there is no mention of a faculty of arts in this narrative, though Clement's bull had expressly mentioned the fewness of masters in this faculty and had given power to erect all the usual faculties of a *studium generale.* The archbishop seems to have concentrated on the two faculties which were of most immediate concern to the clergy of his diocese: theology and canon law. Since the dean of St. Patrick's (who is mentioned third on this list) was named first chancellor of the new university, we may take it for granted that the first three solemn inceptions took place simultaneously. Lectures on theology were to be given by two Dublin friars, one from each of the two leading orders in the city. The fourth friar is claimed as a Franciscan by Luke Wadding, who gives his name as "Brother Edmund Bernarden *alias* de Kemerdin." But a Dominican friar, Edmund of Caermarthen, S.T.L., was made Bishop of Ardfert by John XXII on September 24, 1331; and it is very much more probable that he is to be identified with this fourth master of the new university.[1] It is not clear whether he incepted in 1320 or at some later date. Possibly he succeeded to William de Hardits as *magister regens* in the faculty of theology.

[1] Dr. A. G. Little in *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (p. 108, note), quoting Wadding's *Annales Fratrum Minorum* VI, sub anno 1320; and *Cal. Pap. Lett.* II, p. 351.

Whilst the first masters were thus busy organising their faculties, the archbishop undertook to draft a set of rules for the University. The Pope's bull, as we have seen, had left the constitution of the new University of Dublin indefinite; it was for the Irish prelates to settle these matters for themselves. We do not know whether Bicknor had studied in any University himself, but his *Ordinatio* shows plainly that he looked to Oxford as the model on which the University of Dublin was to be planned. The chancellor is to be elected by the regent masters of the University, and must be a doctor of theology or canon law; but preference is to be given to any member of the two Dublin chapters who may have attained these degrees. A new chancellor is to be elected within a fortnight of his predecessor's death; in case of a disputed election, the vote of a simple numerical majority is to decide; and the new chancellor is to seek confirmation of his election from the Archbishop of Dublin within a fortnight of the election. Two proctors are also to be elected, who shall take the place of the chancellor on his death; but after the lapse of a fortnight the powers of the chancellor are to pass to the official of the Dublin archdiocese or to the keeper of the spiritualities of the see during a vacancy. The chancellor is to have jurisdiction in all legal disputes between two masters or scholars, and has also power to approve or reject their wills and to dispose of their property if they die intestate. Any fines levied from the masters and scholars are to be kept in the University chest for the common use; the two proctors are to have the keys of this chest, and a third key is to be held by a person nominated by the chancellor. An account of the contents of the chest is to be given by the proctors twice a year in the presence of the chancellor and the regent masters. Provision is to be made for the burdens attaching to the chancellor's office according to the needs and resources of the University; but the Archbishop and Dean retain all their established rights over their household, the household of the canons of the two cathedrals, and over all existing glebe land. The chancellor is given power to delegate his jurisdiction to another in special cases; and appeal may be heard in such

cases, in the first instance by the chancellor and in the second instance by the archbishop or his official. Bachelors who wish to be licensed in any faculty must be presented before the chancellor and the regent masters. A number of votes is to be fixed on each such occasion, which will be required from the masters of the faculty in which such license is sought. The masters are to vote on the character of the candidate; if the required number of votes has been obtained, the license is to be granted of right, even though a minority of votes may have been cast against the candidate; if the number of votes has not been obtained, the candidate may be licensed *ex gratia Universitatis*. Any person who brings a charge against such candidate which he is unable to prove in legal form, is to be counted a malicious objector; in addition to paying all costs, he is to be deprived of the University's privileges, either temporarily or permanently, according to the judgment of the chancellor and regent masters. The chancellor is given power to make statutes for the welfare and peace of the University, having first taken counsel from the regent masters and (if necessary) from the non-regent masters as well. Such statutes must be submitted to the Archbishop of Dublin for confirmation. The archbishop and his successors have power to choose a master regent in theology, who may be either a member of the secular clergy or of some religious order; his duty will be to lecture on the Scriptures in the Church of St. Patrick. In the absence of the archbishop, the chancellor has power to choose such master regent in his place. These clauses are not to be interpreted as interfering with the recognition which the archbishop has given to the two schools of the friars preachers and friars minors. Finally, the chancellor for the time being, after his election and before his confirmation, is to take an oath of fidelity to the archbishop and his successors.

These rules throw some light on the existing conditions in Dublin before the erection of the new University of Dublin in 1320. Two schools of theology existed already in the city: in the convents of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, where the rules of these two orders required that some member of

the community should be appointed as *lector*, to teach theology to his brethren and to such others as might wish to attend these lectures.[1] The archbishop had no power to abolish these schools, which depended for their existence on the papal privileges which had been granted to the mendicant orders. In his *Ordinatio* he recognises their existence and seeks to build them into the framework of his new University of Dublin. Two of the Dublin friars, William de Hardits and Henry Cogry, were admitted at once to the *magisterium* of the new University; the third friar, Edmund de Kermerdyn, may perhaps have been admitted to the *magisterium* somewhat later than the other two. But the chief post in the University was reserved to the Dean of St. Patrick's; and the archbishop everywhere reserves a very strict control of the *studium generale* for himself and his successors. This control contrasts very strongly with the freedom of academic life which had been won in Oxford after many long years of struggle. The friars can have been little pleased with this aspect of the *Ordinatio*, and it may perhaps account in part for the contempt expressed by a Kilkenny friar minor, John Clyn, who was beginning to write his brief chronicle of Anglo-Irish events in these very years. Writing apparently in 1321, Friar Clyn makes this brief entry: 1320. *Incepit universitas Dublinie universitas quoad nomen, sed utinam quoad factum et rem.*[2] Even at this early stage it must have been plain to many that Archbishop Bicknor's foundation was not likely to prosper.

It will be noticed that nothing is said in the *Ordinatio* as to the funds from which the new *studium generale* was to be supported—apart from such sums as might be collected in fines from the masters and scholars. Money was not needed to erect a new building, as the lectures were to be given either at St. Patrick's or in the Dominican and Franciscan convents in the city. It is almost certain that there were school-build-

[1] For the Franciscan schools in medieval Ireland, see A. G. Little, *op. cit.*, preface, p. xxviii. There was a *lector* in the Franciscan convent of Dublin in 1310, named Walter Prendergast, who gave evidence against the Dublin Templars: Wilkins, *Concilia*, II, pp. 376-8.

[2] Clyn's *Annals*, loc. cit., p. 14. This entry appears in the middle of other entries that concern the year 1321; from internal evidence it seems fairly clear that Clyn began to note down the principal events of each year from about 1315-16 to the year of his own death in 1349.

ings attached to the Cathedral in Dublin before this date. Monck Mason quotes an interesting reference to these buildings from one of the deeds that were formerly preserved in the archives of Christ Church Cathedral, and have now unfortunately perished in the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922.[1] In a lease dated 14 Richard II (1390-91) the mayor and commons of Dublin demise to Thomas Mareward " a messuage with its pertinences without St. Patrick's Gate, extending in length to the east from the corner of the stone wall outside the said gate beside the king's way to the arches of the ancient schools there, and in length from the aforesaid street beyond the stream of water that flows to the Mill of the Poll as far as the land of the aforesaid schools." Since these schools were known as " the ancient schools " as early as 1390, we may take it that buildings of some kind were available for the public lectures in theology in 1320. Possibly new schools had been built near the cathedral, between 1320 and 1390, by Archbishop Bicknor himself or one of his successors.

Nothing more is heard of the activities of the new University after 1320, but there is no reason for believing that no lectures were given at St. Patrick's or in the two convents of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Rashdall's summing-up of the evidence is as follows : " Clearly there were some schools in Dublin, but in the absence of any evidence of graduation (after the first formal graduations of persons educated elsewhere) the *differentia* of a *de facto* university seems to be wanting."[2] This conclusion can hardly be disputed, though it is perhaps rash to assume that no further graduations took place after the solemn inaugural ceremonies of 1320.

One cause of the new University's failure is undoubtedly to be found in the sudden disgrace which overwhelmed the archbishop, whose authority over the Dublin *studium* was so clearly established in his own *Ordinatio*. Bicknor's disgrace was primarily due to financial troubles. As early as April 14, 1322, we find an order to the treasurer and barons of the

[1] Monck Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 101, note ; quoting from one of the lost Christ Church Deeds, which has been calendared in the *Deputy Keeper's Twentieth Report*, No. 255.

[2] Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (new ed.), vol. II, p. 326.

exchequer in Dublin, requiring them to compel the archbishop to come before them at the exchequer and to make view of the accounts of all his receipts in Ireland for the time when he was the King's treasurer, and of his receipts from all other sources; and to compel him to make payment of all arrears.[1] This mandate is the beginning of a long struggle, in which the King's financial officers accused Bicknor of having falsified some of the rolls which he kept as treasurer in the years 1307-1313, and of having failed to render a satisfactory account of his financial proceedings as justiciar in 1318-19, and of the tithes which he collected from the clergy in the King's name during the early years of his pontificate. At the same time Pope John XXII, who was actively reorganising the whole system of papal finances in these same years, pressed him for payment of a debt which Archbishop Lech had contracted in 1311, and which Bicknor had acknowledged as a charge on his own revenues in 1317.[2]

Bicknor seems to have held his own against his creditors for the next two years, and managed to get himself named as one of the English diplomatists who accompanied the Earl of Kent to France in 1324 for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between the King's eldest son and a daughter of the King of Aragon. During his absence in France Bicknor became involved in a violent personal quarrel with the King's favourite, Hugh Le Despenser, and Edward II accused him of treachery.[3] Meanwhile, the inquiry into his accounts as treasurer had revealed certain fraudulent returns; and the Pope's financial agent in England, Robert Pinchbek, took the extreme step of excommunicating the archbishop for non-payment of his debts.[4] Bicknor was now a desperate

[1] *Cal. Close R.* (1318-23), pp. 432, 437, 530. For Bicknor's commission to collect papal tithes for the King, *ibid.*, pp. 7, 194, 391. For the financial embarrassment of the diocese at this time, *Cal. Pat. R.* (1317-21), p. 204.

[2] The full story of this debt is told in a long letter of John XXII, printed in Theiner, pp. 217-9.

[3] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, (ed. Riley; Rolls Series), I, pp. 173-4. Ware has given a confused account of this embassy: *Works*, ed Harris, I, p. 330. For the date, see *Cal. Pat. R.* (1321-24), p. 404; *Cal. Close R.* (1324-27), p. 108. The story of Bicknor's quarrel with Despenser is told by Edward II in a letter to John XXII (May 28, 1325): printed in Rymer IV, p. 152.

[4] The date of Bicknor's excommunication is uncertain. He had been excommunicated before May 28, 1325 (Rymer, *loc. cit.*); but can hardly have been under sentence when he left Ireland for France in the summer of 1324. Robert Pinchbek was acting on the powers which John XXII had given him in 1322: Theiner, p. 219.

man; it is not surprising to find that he abandoned the King's service and joined the group of English malcontents who were gathering round Queen Isabella in Aquitaine during these months. He was one of the leading figures in the revolution of 1326-27, and his name stands first on the roll of prelates and noblemen who proclaimed young Edward of Aquitaine Warden of the Realm on October 26, 1326.[1]

Bicknor must have hoped that the prominent part which he took in the overthrow of Edward II and the Despensers would win him a full pardon from the new King of England. But Edward III was warned by his counsellors of the exchequer that a free pardon for offences of this kind was a dangerous precedent, and Bicknor was compelled to acknowledge his fault and make payment of arrears.[2] The long story of his efforts to free himself from this debt to the Crown may be followed in the published Calendars of the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls of the next twenty years. Pardon was finally granted in 1338, though the archbishop was still vexed by the demands of the exchequer in 1340 and 1343. Meanwhile, he seems to have made no effort to repay his debts to the papal treasury, or even to free himself from the sentence of excommunication and suspension which he had incurred in 1325. John XXII took no further action, so far as we know; but Benedict XII made an effort to force a decision in 1335.[3] The King supported Bicknor in his resistance to the papal demands; and the quarrel was further complicated by a violent dispute between Bicknor and his suffragan, Bishop Richard Ledred of Ossory.[4] Ledred had attacked the family of Utlagh or Outlaw, whom he accused of witchcraft, usury and heresy. Bicknor was absent from Ireland when the quarrel began in 1324; but on his return to Dublin he took

[1] Rymer, IV, p. 237; *Cal. Close R.* (1324-27), p. 655.

[2] Many years later Bicknor claimed that the King had given him a full pardon in the first year of his reign: *Cal. Pat. R.* (1343-45), p. 301. But there is no record of this pardon in the extant rolls, and the King's mandate to the treasury of July 8, 1327, shows a very different purpose: *Cal. Close R.* (1327-30), pp. 144-5.

[3] Theiner, pp. 269, 272, 273.

[4] There is a good account of this famous episode in Carrigan: *Hist. and Antiq. of the Diocese of Ossory*, I, pp. 45-57; see also Archdeacon Seymour's *Anglo-Irish Literature*, pp. 41 foll.; and Little-FitzMaurice, in *Materials for Hist. of Franc. Prov. of Ireland*, pp. 115-119.

the side of the Outlaw family, who may perhaps have helped him in his financial troubles. Once again, the King supported Bicknor against Ledred ; but the Pope held firm, and Bicknor's own obstinacy seems to have cost him the support of Edward III in the later years of the dispute.[1]

Benedict XII died in 1342, leaving the matter still undecided, but Clement VI was equally firm in his support of the Franciscan Bishop of Ossory. Bicknor refused to appear in person at Avignon, and failed to satisfy a French cardinal whom the Pope had nominated as arbiter. Finally, the newly consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph, was commissioned by the Pope to hold a formal inquiry into the state of the archdiocese of Dublin. The commission, which was entrusted to FitzRalph in 1347, was executed in 1349, whilst the Black Death was still ravaging the east coast of Ireland.[2] Bicknor was now an old and broken man ; but he resisted to the end. According to a contemporary Armagh narrative, he gave money to the King's justiciar and to the prior of Kilmainham, that they might hinder the affair of the church of Armagh ; and the primate's visitation ended in his violent expulsion from the city. Alexander de Bicknor died a few months after this last stormy scene, on August 10, 1349. His death opened the way for a new election, and his place was soon taken by one of the King's most trusted clerks in Ireland, John of St. Paul.

By the terms of Bicknor's *Ordinatio* of 1321, the University of Dublin which he had founded in the preceding year was subject to the immediate supervision and authority of the Archbishop of Dublin. Bicknor's own disgrace, and the excommunication which was never lifted from 1325 to the year of his death, must have paralysed his work in the archdiocese and crippled him financially, so as to make it impossible for him to give any real support to the new *studium generale*. Were we to hear no more of the project, we might assume that

[1] See the King's letter of June 3, 1339 (Rymer V, p. 112), as compared with his earlier letters of June 18, 1329, and Feb. 25, 1331 (Rymer IV, pp. 392 ; 473).

[2] I have told the story of this visitation in an earlier article in STUDIES, (March 1935), pp. 38-41. The Latin text of the Armagh narrative, which is taken from Primate Octavian's register in Armagh, has been printed in Ussher's *Works*, vol. I, Appendix VI, p. cxxxii.

it had died a natural death soon after its inauguration, overwhelmed by the disaster of the archbishop's misfortunes. But the project did in fact survive the disgrace and death of its founder—an interesting proof that some such centre of higher studies was sorely needed in Ireland.

The rest of the story is soon told. Even within Bicknor's lifetime we find evidence that men were conscious of the need for some centre of higher studies in Ireland. Elsewhere I have called attention to two sermons which Archbishop FitzRalph of Armagh preached at Drogheda, in 1349 and again in 1355, stressing the need for better training among the Anglo-Irish clergy and urging the priests of his diocese to cooperate in an effort to afford facilities for at least a small number of students in the English universities.[1] The same consciousness of a necessity for higher studies is apparent in two petitions of the Dublin Austin friars, dated May and July 1348, in which they seek permission to receive a grant of money from a wealthy Dublin merchant, John Graunset by name, who is willing to charge some of his tenements in Dublin with a sum of six marks yearly, to be devoted to the maintenance of six students from four Irish houses in an English university.[2] From the terms of the petitions it would seem that the Irish (or rather Anglo-Irish) Austin friars were accustomed to send six of their number to the English schools of Oxford and Cambridge; but the recent distress, due to wars and other adversities, had made it impossible for them to find the money needed for their upkeep.

Within twelve months of the date of these petitions Alexander de Bicknor was dead, and his place was taken by John of St. Paul. The new archbishop summoned a provincial synod, which met in Dublin in 1351. Its decrees are extant, but they contain no allusion to the Dublin *studium generale*.[3] None the less, it is certain that some kind of revival took place during the next few years. On August 14, 1358, Edward III issued an order, stating that he has received a

[1] Studies (March 1935), pp. 35-37; (March 1936), pp. 84-86.
[2] *Cal. Pat. R.* (1348-50), pp. 94; 114. I hope to discuss the history of the Anglo-Irish vicariate of the Austin friars in a volume which I am preparing for the press.
[3] Wilkins, *Concilia* III, pp. 18-20.

petition from the clergy and scholars of Ireland complaining that they are exposed to serious danger and expense by the necessity of crossing the seas for the purpose of study; that they propose to study theology, civil and canon law and other clerkly sciences in the city of Dublin; and that they beg the King's protection for this purpose. The King reminds his officials that the peace and prosperity of the land must benefit by the advance of such studies, and orders them to extend his royal protection to all such students.[1] No other document has survived to tell us whether any students of theology and canon law did in fact come to Dublin in these years.

Another item of evidence has come down to us in two closely related documents of the year 1364. They record the grant of an acre of land at Stackallen, Co. Meath, to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, from the King's younger son, Lionel Duke of Clarence, then the King's Deputy Governor in Ireland.[2] The grant is made on two conditions: that the dean and chapter should have certain masses said for the welfare of the King and his family during life, for the repose of their souls after death, and for the repose of the souls of his forefathers; and also that they should find an Austin friar to read theology in the house of scholars of the dean and chapter in Dublin. The Duke of Clarence took his title from Stoke Clare in Suffolk, where the English Austin friars had their earliest foundation; and he is known to have been a patron of the order in England.[3] The condition which he attached to his grant in Dublin suggests that he was anxious to foster the welfare and good repute of the order in Ireland. Apart from such personal preference there is nothing in the history of the few Irish houses of the Austin friars to suggest that they were especially qualified at this time to give a lead in the matter of higher education. A curious commentary on Duke Lionel's grant is to be found in a petition which the Irish friars made to the chapter general of the order which

[1] *Rotulorum Patentium Hiberniae Calendarium* (London, 1828), p. 73. The original document was destroyed in 1922.

[2] The text of Lionel's grant is in Alan's Register, fol. 37: now in the diocesan archives of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. Edward III's permit has been calendared in *Cal. Pat. R.* (1361-64), p. 522.

[3] See the note in *D. N. B.*, s.v. Lionel: vol. xxxiii. 338.

met at Perugia in 1354.[1] They ask permission to elect local priors in their convents, even though they may be unable to speak Latin, since there is a scarcity of Latin-speaking friars in the Irish vicariate.

One last document has survived from these years, and it proves (if proof were needed) that the *studium* of Dublin was not felt to be a true University by the Irish clergy. Urban V succeeded Innocent VI on September 28, 1362. News of his election must have reached England and Ireland within a very few weeks of that date; and we find long rolls of petitions which were drafted and sent to the new Pope at Avignon before the end of the year. These rolls include several from the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, and others from priests and chaplains who are described as "Rome-seeking" (*Romipetarum*).[2] Almost a year later the first Irish roll occurs in the English records, and it is drafted on behalf of eighteen Irish priests from several Irish dioceses. Almost without exception these priests bear definitely Irish names, and they come from such Irish dioceses as Killaloe, Cork, Limerick, Emly, Cashel, Ardfert, Kilmacduagh and Down, as well as from Dublin, Meath and Kildare. In their petition these Irish clerks state that this is the first roll which has been sent from Ireland to the new Pope. They are few in number, for there is a great lack of clerks in Ireland owing to the pestilence and wars in those parts; and the value of their benefices is small. The Pope must not be surprised to see that they have no scholastic degrees, for in all Ireland there is no University or *studium*; but the petitioners are not afraid of being rejected on examination, and they pray the Pope to grant them the benefices which they seek, especially as the petitioners are from the ends of the earth. The Pope, who was a kindly man and a generous patron of higher studies, heard their petition with favour and granted them all the benefices which they sought on November 16,

[1] The decree of the chapter general, granting this permission for the next three years has been printed by V. Rev. Father Esteban, O.S.A., in the order's official *Analecta Augustiniana*, vol. IV (1912), p. 310.

[2] A summary of these English petitions will be found in *Cal. Papal Petitions* I, pp. 389; 399; 402; 404; 426; 435.

1363.[1] It would be interesting to know whether he made any effort to improve the facilities for higher studies in Ireland. No record of any further papal action on behalf of the University of Dublin has survived, and it seems certain that the Dublin schools ceased to function for more than a century.

Shortly before the confiscation of Christ Church and St. Patrick's under Henry VIII one last effort was made by a distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, Walter FitzSimon, to revive the project of a Dublin University. A provincial synod was held at Christ Church in 1496, and a decree was passed requiring all the clergy of the province of Dublin to make an annual contribution for the next seven years towards the maintenance of a staff of lecturers in theology at the school of St. Patrick's.[2] The archdiocese of Dublin was to contribute ten pounds sterling a year; Ossory and Ferns five pounds each; Kildare and Leighlin five marks each per annum. It will be noted that this Dublin synod coincides in date with the rule of Poynings in Ireland. Archbishop FitzSimon was chancellor of the kingdom and a personal friend of Henry VII.[3] We may safely assume that this last effort at a revival of the Dublin *studium generale* was part of the new Tudor policy which sought to strengthen the declining English element in Ireland. The next reign was to inaugurate a new policy, which finally killed all prospect of giving effect to the terms of Pope Clement's bull.[4]

AUBREY GWYNN

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[1] *Cal. Pap. Pet.* I, p. 467-9.
[2] The text of this decree is in Alan's Register.
[3] See the notice of FitzSimon in Ware's *Works*, ed. Harris, I, pp. 343-4.
[4] In the charter by which Philip and Mary sought to restore what Henry VIII and Edward VI had destroyed, nothing is said of a school of theology, though full provision is made for the grammar school of St. Patrick's. Apparently Archbishop FitzSimon's effort to revive the teaching of theology had come to nothing: see the text of the charter as printed by Monck Mason in his *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, Appendix pp. xx-xxvi.

THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE IN IRELAND*

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WHEN it is said that the happiness of the rural community depends on a prosperous agriculture only a half truth is expressed. The statement needs qualification. Agriculture is prosperous on the ranches of County Meath at the moment, but the sparsity of human dwellings is alarming. This example is taken not by way of disparagement of that area nor as a reflection on the owners of the land, but rather to show the necessity, in the consideration of the agricultural position, to couple with the profits from the industry the type of husbandry practised. Farming might be discussed, for example, (1) in respect of the profits to the farmer, (2) in respect of the number of people employed on the land.

It may be said that, in most manufacturing industries, there is some relationship between the profits of the owner and the number of employees. An idle mill or factory leaves no dividend, and for the creation of profits in any considerable amount the employment of working hands in fairly large numbers is essential. In agriculture this principle does not necessarily hold. The factory of the pasture field, unlike that of human creation, does not remain idle ; in greater or lesser quantity it continues to produce food, and the owner of a farm of 300 acres of pasture land may enjoy a comfortable living thereon without employing a second human soul to share the wealth. Alternatively, there is the case of the arable farm of which 100 per cent. is tilled with very liberal profit to the owner ; and yet, by the utilisation of modern power machinery, the employment on it is very little greater than on the all-grass farm.

For the purpose of concentrating attention on the human

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carrying capacity it is worth examining, in somewhat more detail, a few systems of agriculture which may be considered commercially sound. On the all-grass farm which grazes dry cattle the owner with one other hand would successfully manage 1,000 acres. At the moment farming on these lines pays, but it takes 500 *acres to carry one human family*. Suppose that, instead of bullocks, dairy cows are kept on an all-grass farm, 200 acres would carry about 60 cows. Most of these would milk for the summer period only when the farmer and three hands would do the work, but they would be dry in winter when only one employee would be retained. On a holding of this sort 200 acres carries, on the average, three families—*i.e.*, 1 *family to* 70 *acres*. Then let us consider a mechanised tillage farm of 500 acres consisting of extensive fields in which power-ploughs, cultivators and combine-harvestors could operate. The owner and four men would suffice to farm such a holding: 500 acres would carry five families—*i.e.*, 1 *family per* 100 *acres*. Actually, with the last type of husbandry (*i.e.*, mechanised tillage) the density of the rural population dwindles below that of an area in which grass land is devoted to dairying. Lest anyone may be inclined to conclude that, generally speaking, tillage supports less people than grazing, let me hastily say that I have given, in the case of the mechanised farm, an extreme instance in which land is utilised in a way which is possible only under certain climatic conditions and on holdings of very extensive area. With mechanised tillage, as with bullock grazing, farming is practised with a complete disregard for the human carrying capacity of the land. Let us bear in mind that man should not exist merely for the sake of production but rather production for the sake of man. In agriculture, as in other industries, machinery is capable of displacing human hands. As an instance, I have seen the record of a particular farm on which harvesting is now done by four people and on which in 1852, before the arrival of the machine, sixty-five men were employed for the same operations.

Assuming the necessity for a thickly or a moderately thickly populated rural area, none of the foregoing systems

of agriculture would appeal and an agricultural industry based on any one of them would, while possibly profitable to the holders of the land, be a poor national asset from the point of view of the human population of the country. Obviously what is wanted is not fully stated in the phrase "prosperous agriculture": rather it is necessary to have conditions such that agriculture of a type capable of carrying a considerable number of employees should be lucrative.

Tillage, provided it is not of the highly mechanised type, employs a high population per unit area. A farm of 60 acres, holding livestock (including dairy cows, young cattle, pigs and poultry) and producing, in addition to grass, tillage crops to feed these animals in winter as well as some tillage crops for direct sale, could employ four hands, including the owner, the year round. Thus each 15 *acres supports a family.* A farm of the same size on which few livestock are kept but which is tilled intensively for the production of vegetables, fruit, grain, etc., would employ eight hands. In that case each 7 *or* 8 *acres carries a family.* On holdings of this size, or even two or three times as large, mechanised farming is out of the question because the capital cost of the machinery would be altogether excessive in relation to its utility. While on the average and small farm a reasonable amount of agricultural machinery may be used, most of the tillage operations necessitate a considerable degree of human labour. The case of China with its dense rural population is interesting as an instance of what intensive tillage, in the absence of any modern machinery, can carry in the way of human beings. There 90 per cent. of the land is in crops and only 1 per cent. in pasture, and on these facts lies the chief contrast between the Orient and the Occident, where in recent times the tendency has been to increase the output per man rather than per acre.

Seventy years ago we had a population of over four millions in that portion of Eire comprising the 26 counties; now we have less than three millions. This decline has run parallel with a decrease in tillage from two-three-quarter million to approximately one-and-a-half million acres and a corresponding extension of pasture and an increase in cattle from

three to four million head. These simple figures tell their own story. Live stock, particularly cattle, have become more and more, and tillage less and less, popular. The obvious inference is that the profits to the occupiers of the land from the cattle industry has been greater on the whole than those from crop production.

If the tide of declining rural population is to be turned, a condition must be created which will provide more employment on the land. That can be done only by a substantial increase in the tillage area. If it is necessary to assist agriculture, the helpful measures must therefore, from the point of view of our rural population, be directed towards an increase in tillage. Here the obvious question arises—to what extent can a market be provided for extra tillage ? There is a limited market abroad for potatoes, and a limited trade may be worked up in the export of vegetables and certain fruits, but in face of competition from overseas we cannot export cereals. There is, however, a potential market at home for cereals—(1) a market for 300,000 acres of oats and barley to replace the 300,000 tons of maize and other animal foods imported ; (2) a market for 300,000 acres of wheat to replace the 300,000 tons of wheat imported. But this home market, because of the comparatively low price of cereals produced on the mechanised farms in America and elsewhere, can only be made available to our farmers by measures which limit the importation of cereals and subsidise home production. The public must bear, either directly or indirectly, the cost of the subsidy on wheat production and possibly also that of the subsidy on oat and barley production. At present the stock feeder pays for the latter by way of increased price of animal foodstuffs, and one fears that the reaction may be a decreased consumption of these commodities, so that the real object of the measure introduced for the encouragement of oat and barley production may thus be defeated.

In view of our import of vegetables and certain fruits there is a potential market at home for these products also, but for the reasons already stated the home production of vegetables and fruit for consumption by our own people

needs to be carefully fostered. Provided the cost is not excessive, beet culture for sugar, potato growing for alcohol, and any such similar enterprise which encourages more tillage is to be favoured.

To produce all the agricultural and horticultural crops required for direct consumption by man and stock and for conversion into industrial products, and in addition to produce the comparatively small quantity of tillage crops in which we may develop an export trade, would require in all less than 3,000,000 acres, which is only one quarter of the total agricultural land available. In certain rich grazing districts the probable tillage area would presumably be small, so that in those districts with a tillage tradition up to 50 per cent. of the arable land may be in cultivation. Obviously there would remain a very large proportion, actually three-quarters, of arable land which must be utilized for the production of live stock and live stock products to be marketed abroad. By live stock and live stock products is understood " store " and fat cattle, sheep, pigs, fowl, milk, cheese, eggs, bacon and wool. In Great Britain, and to some extent elsewhere, there is a lucrative market for these products, and for some considerable time it would seem as if we may rely on the continuance of a large trade in them. The farmer has been accustomed to cater for that market, and experience has shown that it is difficult to get him to make a radical change. But let us not confuse the issue. The adoption here at home of tillage to the extent of 3,000,000 acres (*i.e.*, nearly twice our present area) would still leave 9,000,000 acres under grass and therefore would not materially interfere with the volume of our export trade in live stock and live stock products; but it would mean that we should be producing, on our own soil, practically all the food required in this country for man as well as for cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, and thus providing increased employment. On the other hand, we may visualise practically the same volume of export trade in animals and animal products from an all-grass country where we should have the minimum of rural dwellings and into which all the food consumed by man and stock would

necessarily be imported from foreign lands. Let us by all means continue our trade in live stock, but let us feed the animals and ourselves on the products of our own soil.

The foundation of the cattle industry depends on dairying and, in view of the dumping of butter on the British market by various overseas countries, we shall have to do likewise or else cease to export butter. Dumping in this case means the selling of this commodity in Britain at a price which is considerably below that which the inhabitants of the exporting country pay at home. From the point of view of a flourishing rural population summer dairying, that is the production of milk on grass only, is not a great asset; but it is different with winter dairying, which can only go on successfully when a plentiful supply of tillage crops is available for stock feeding—and this means increased employment. In the case of "store" and fat cattle production, grazing alone is quite suitable for advanced animals; but nowadays there is an increasing demand for earlier maturing stock. Early maturity, however, can only be achieved by uniform feeding throughout the year, and for this purpose tillage is necessary. A grazing farm on which there is no tillage provides a plethora of food in summer, but starvation in winter. The introduction of some tillage into such a holding would enable it to feed an equal number of cattle, and in addition the animals could, by uniform all-the-year-round feeding, be brought to maturity at an earlier age. While considerably increasing the value without decreasing the volume of our cattle export industry, the tilling of a portion of the all-grass farm would increase its human carrying capacity.

I have spent some considerable time examining, in relation to human employment, various systems of agriculture, and I have endeavoured to indicate the type of farming which is called for and which is feasible in this country. The mixed tillage and stock farm, which is to be found in many parts but more particularly in some counties than in others, is the model of what is practicable and of what can, in certain circumstances, be worked so as to be able to pay a decent wage to a comparatively high number of employees.

At this stage one must examine the circumstances which make this type of farming profitable and face the question as to whether it is necessary to assist in some way the industry. The question as to whether at the moment such a farm is paying its way or making money does not as yet arise. I shall return to it. On the principle of free trade without restrictions or subsidies, not alone could we not profitably export the products of tillage but we should import the greater part of our own requirements for both man and stock. Furthermore, dairying would become unremunerative and this country would cease to manufacture butter and other dairy products. The existing world circumstances which would inevitably bring about these results are the adoption of mechanised tillage farming with the minimum of human employment in other lands as well as the dumping on the British market of certain products like butter on which a subsidy is paid by exporting countries. We should, therefore, be left in this country with an increasing proportion of pasture land for the feeding of dry stock, and any supplementary feeding provided to farm animals would be produced in some far distant land.

A complete drift in the direction of pasture would lead to a condition such as obtains in New Zealand where ninety-four per cent of the occupied land is in grass. There, however, sixty-eight per cent. of the land is held in areas of over 1,000 acres. Man power is reduced to a minimum and wages comprise a small outlay. Dogs and riding horses for grass farming, tractors and power machinery for arable land are more important than men. In this connection it is worth noting that the New Zealand Government, in its effort to attract labour on to the land, actually subsidizes, to the extent of 10s. to 15s. weekly for each employee, farmers willing to train inexperienced youths in agricultural work.

Actually our agriculture was rapidly drifting into this position when our native government introduced measures for the protection of the home market for meat, butter, corn etc., against foreign competition and offset the effect of dumping on the British market by arranging for a subsidy

on the Irish butter exported thereto. The result has been to check the deplorable drift into pastoral conditions which had previously been so rapidly taking place. But if we are to have agriculture sufficiently prosperous to support a happy and contented rural population, much more must be done—and, what is very important, there is great urgency about the matter.

In the absence of up-to-date profit and loss accounts from a mixed tillage and stock farm, let us visit, in imagination, such a holding of (say) 60 acres, in which about twenty-five per cent. is tilled and on which a family of six people lives. The place is worked by the farmer with his son and two employees. After meeting his obligations in the matter of rent, rates and wages and after paying for food, clothing, and other household and farm requirements, the owner finds that at the end of the year there is no surplus left out of income, even though the family has lived frugally and the farmer and his son (who gets no regular wage) curtail their weekly personal expenditure to less than one eight of the wages of an agricultural labourer. This may be taken as the state of affairs which exists on a fairly well managed holding: on the indifferently managed one the balance is on the wrong side and the family is living not on the profits of the farm but on the losses of its creditors. I think the reader will agree that the state of affairs in agriculture is not satisfactory.

What can be done about the position? The farmer may reduce agricultural wages to a level consistent with the profits to be made from the industry. The result would, of course, be migration to the towns or emigration across the water. But why not reduce the cost of living so considerably that the agricultural labourer may be able to subsist on a very low rate of wages? I submit that, in this age, a reduction in the cost of living in this country is neither possible nor desirable. The issue or problem of a high rate of agricultural wage must be faced. We must remember that a farm hand who can manage horses, set agricultural machinery, milk cows and care a sick animal is a highly skilled employee and, on this score alone, deserves a high wage. I agree with the

principle of considering agricultural wages in relation to the requirements of a decent comfortable livelihood rather than in relation to what the industry can at the moment pay, and my remedy is the adjustment of the industry so as to enable it to pay the higher rate. There is a fixed rate of 27s. per week for most areas ; but if farmers, in their inability to pay, respond by reducing employment and by letting the land out to grass, then the object is further away than ever of achievement.

How then might agriculture be assisted so as to enable it to pay reasonable wages to a considerable number of employees and to leave such a profit as to give the owner and his family a living sufficiently good to be an inducement to stay on the land and to love it ? To my mind the only solution is in the direction of increased tillage, and increased tillage means liberal state aid—for which the community must be prepared to pay. Without going into a technical discussion on the matter, I might say that a reasonable increase in tillage would not appreciably reduce the number of stock. A certain proportion of grass is necessary and desirable to graze cattle and sheep ; but this argument should not be abused and made to imply that the best agricultural economy consists in the retention of all the grassland we have. In the absence of government assistance, agriculture in this country would tend more and more to pasture economy—for which trend the farmer, as an owner, could not be held responsible. His outlook, I suppose, is to make a living for himself and his family, and his financial returns usually determine the system of agriculture adopted. If it is decided then, as a national policy, to have a prosperous rural community and especially a high population on the land, the nation must be prepared to foot the bill by subsidising tillage or by adopting measures which will have a similar effect. The problem is a national one, not one to be financed by the farmer. Of the two methods which might be used to raise the income of farmers—namely, the granting of a subsidy on production and the raising of the price of farm products—the former appears preferable, as the latter tends to reduce the quantity of farm products

(such as milk, butter, eggs and meat) purchased by the working and middle classes.

Any comprehensive scheme designed for this object would necessarily have to include an easy system of credit. Credit in considerable amount, and long term credit at that, is required by the farmer. This is available to him at present; but the rate of interest is far too high and the conditions of security required are far too exacting. The state of farming is not favourable enough to pay even a small rate of interest on money loaned for drainage, buildings or such like permanent improvements. I must not, however, be taken as suggesting the free distribution of loans in an indiscriminate fashion, as unscrupulous people would abuse the privilege afforded them: rigid guarantees would necessarily have to be forthcoming. Easy credit would be a great boon to the good farmer: it would be wasted on the thriftless one.

What are we doing to make good farmers and to awaken in them a sense of their grave responsibilities and obligations as possessors of national wealth and property? The fulfilment of one's obligations and responsibilities requires the ability as well as the opportunity to do so. Ability in this case demands the possession of a fair degree of education and of much technical knowledge. Farm production nowadays is a complex business, and success demands the application of science to its various branches—namely crop rotation, cultivation, manuring, variety of crops, precaution against pests and diseases, stock breeding, choice of feeding-stuffs and rationing. Surely the boy who, in the national school, completes his education at the age of 12 to 14 years is not capable of utilising the wealth-producing power of a farm; he is not even capable of realising its potentialities nor the necessity for further education on his part. Yet how many of our young farmers are starting their careers with this handicap—I should say the most of them. The system of secondary education does not cater for those who are to remain on the land, and for want of something in addition to primary school education most of those on the land at present are not in a position to avail of the technical instruction in farming

matters which, to a limited extent, is provided by the Department of Agriculture. The greatest need in this connection is a post-primary school course in general education. To provide this, as well as to form a groundwork for the accumulation of applied knowledge, is the aim of the new vocational scheme—on the success of which, to my mind, depends largely the retention of our people on the land. But in addition to a complete course at a vocational school, every young farmer should have the opportunity of acquainting himself with all the technical and scientific knowledge of agriculture the application of which to the industry is indispensable for financial success. For the realisation of these ends a much greater expenditure in vocational teaching and in technical and scientific agricultural instruction is called for. There is, at the moment, a tendency to discount agricultural occupations and to regard work in towns and in salaried positions as of a superior grade. This perhaps creates uneasiness among young rural people and a desire to migrate. To counteract this tendency much could be done by so designing the curriculum of primary and vocational schools as to direct attention to the beauty of natural things, to the charm of the countryside, to the dignity and national importance of agricultural work.

The Government's duty, in connection with the matter under discussion, appears to be in educating the farmer and in fostering those sections of the agricultural industry which give greatest employment—namely, those connected with tillage. In addition—because of the dumping, by other countries, of butter on the British market—we must subsidise our export trade in butter, if dairying (on which the cattle and to a large extent the pig and poultry industry depend) is to survive. Where is the money to come from? There is no use in devising means whereby it may be taken out of one of the pockets of the farmer for the purpose of transferring it to the other, because no existing section of the agricultural industry is capable of bearing such a tax. Central funds must provide the money. If, therefore, we are to have, as a national asset, a reasonable proportion of tillage and a

prosperous rural population, the entire community must bear the burden. For national reasons the post-primary school training of the rural community may have to be made compulsory; but, however the result may be achieved, the education of the farmer must be rendered satisfactory. This done, there rests on the owner of the land a moral obligation to utilise this education to the best advantage for himself and the community. To detail what improvements he might effect on the system of working which obtains on the average farm at the present day would require not one but fifty papers of this length—and written by men who, in their own lines, would be competent to speak. Suffice it to say that we must have more enterprise, more vision and greater efficiency from those in whose hands the custody of land lies. They are trustees of our national wealth.

I would like, in concluding this paper, to refer to the alarm which is raised at the voluntary leaving of the land by young farmers and labourers who go to seek better posts elsewhere. Let us beware of a much worse condition—namely, their dismissal from the land because of no job at all. What will be the history of agriculture in the next half century is a question which concerns our present nation builders. Shall we visualise more grass and a greater encroachment on productive soil by scrub, bracken and marsh, or shall the wheels be reversed? Shall more of the arable area be tilled, and shall our desert of waste though fertile ground be once more invaded by an expanding rural population making a living on the land? These are questions which the future will answer; but it rests with the present generation to decide what the answers shall be—and they must decide quickly.

E. J. Sheehy

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLVII

REDEMPTION

Fearghal Ó Cionga ccc

1. Mairg ar urra re héacht ríogh
ní cúir buaidh cuirtce i neimbríogh
a bár gé do fóir oirne
ir cár far cóir comairle.

2. Tig gan cion i gcli Muire
ceann fluaig na fé focuide
do glac ón adair 'n-a huact
mac dar facain an umluct.

3. Do-ní raon tre reannaib bear
leanb Dé dar ndion tar diligead
ria ná foin uaid a fine
troig do-cuaid 'n-ar gcoinneine.

4. Truime ar gcean ar ciontach finn
dá hól ar-teag nach téigim
diongna ir fleadh ann ar ibe
an teag tall go dtréigfide.

5. Dóig oinig ar déanta di
ar druim a ndubrad uaithe
ceangal fír na breas bralad
cneadh an cíc dá chíocnagad.

6. I luaic fola cneadh gcroidead
dar n-agra an uair ciucroidear
ní ciocrad dí cleith ar gcean
an cli 'r a beith 'n-a breitheamh.

7. Dá firead cóir cneadh gcroide
ní hí an cóir ó dtiucroide
ní beag doilge an troigig tinn
oigid t'oidhe ní áirmim.

8. A bfeaċ féin ní foláir dí
Dual leanb ar bfeiċ a buime
Lá ar-tig gun óig fe a heidir
Ar gcóir mar rin finfidir.

9. Dar gcaomhna gér ċéim doiligh
Teaċt dá oigid aontaigid
Do-ċí an gfár a-nall do nim
A ċlann i gcár a gcuifid.

10. Tuigċe dúinn ar bior an buinn
Naċ é an connfaḋ nar ċomuill
Má do bí d'eaċt ar t'oidhe
Teaċt i gcli dar gcoḃaifne.

11. Ní abfuim gur faofaḋ finn
Má tá cóir cneaḋ 'n-ar n-oifċill
Már [dó] fuair dul i ndaoinib
Dul i n-uaig ní mionṁaoidim.

12. Cfú an ċíg fa lár do leigeaḋ
Téid dó ar déanaṁ foigidean
Ar ċló an troigig tug a ċrom
Go fug a hoidir oram.

13. Dá dteagṁaḋ naċ tiucfaḋ finn
A bfuil d'faltaib 'n-ar n-oifċill
Finn féin d'oigid ar n-aċar
Céim fen doilig dealaċaḋ.

14. [I] luaċ altfuim a hoidir
Fuair an uile d'fóifidin
Fí [an] ċfuinne ar a cíg gur ċuir
Gan duine dinn 'n-a dúċaig.

15. Iomda céim 'n-ar ċeannċair finn
Go bár t'oidir dá n-áifiṁinn
Nír fár neiṁ i gcfú an ċroide
Nar ċeil tú le trócaire.

16. Ní huair ḋaoiḃ déanaṁ moille
Ó bfuil d'faltaiḃ ofuinne
Ir finn féin do-foinne fiḃ
Céim 'n-ar gcoinne naċ cuifdir.

17. Ag aṫṙa a éaṙca má tá
ní ṙláine an ċioġ an céadlá
molaim aṙ dtáṫ an tṙoiġiġ
ṙgáṫ oṙainn ṙat ionnṙoiġiḋ.

18. Aṙ mbṙeiṫ aṙ-teaġ tiucṙa ḋi
ṙad ṙleiḋ d'ṙeaṙtaiḃ a hóiġe
mó ná neiṁ na dtṙí dtaiṙṙnġe
do ċeil ṙi daṙ ṙaoṙaiḋne.

19. Dá mbeaḋ naċ leanṙaiḋe liḃ
aonġoin daṙ ṙulaing t'oiḋiṙ
ní ċiġ linn díol a ndliġe
ṙan ġcioġ ṙinn má ṙéiḋiġe.

20. I ndoṙtaḋ ṙola t'oiḋṙe
má tá cóiṙ ṙaṙ ġcomoiṙne
do ḋul i ġcṙoiṙ taṙ ceann ġcáiġ
a-noiṙ buḋ ṙeaṙṙ a aṁáil.

21. Cóiṙ i ngoin tṙoiġiġ má tá
niṙ ḋoilġe ḋúinn an céadlá
ṙéaċ a-naḷḷ a ċṙú cṙoiḋe
a-nú am na mionṁaine.

22. Ní áiṙṁim do ċuṙ i ġcṙoiṙ
nó ġoin oile dá n-uaṙaiṙ
baoġal t'ṙeaṙġ ṙa ċṙú an ċioġa
tú ṙa ḋealġ maḋ doiḋíola.

23. Ró oiniġ ṙa ḋeaṙa ḋiṫ
ġuṙ ṙuilngiṙ oiġiḋ t'éinṁic
tú it aiġne ġun ċneiḋ cṙiḋe
maṙ ṙin ṙailġe m'oiṙḃiṙe.

24. Mo ṫoil aṙ-teaġ dá ḃṙaġainn
ṙuaṙaṙ óm ṙioṙ uṙaġaill
ní hí neiṁ an tṙoiġiġ ṫinn
do-ḃiṙ t'oiḋiṙ im oiṙċill.

25. Do ċuiṙ i ġcéill dá ṙeaṙtaiḃ
báṙ t'oiḋiṙ naċ aiṫeantaiṙ
cóiṙ Dé go dtioḃṙaḋ dá ṫiġ
doḃ ionġnaḋ iṙ hé d'oiġiḋ.

26. Go gcoisgfead fíoċ beasa an buinn
do fúil fisin óig aguinn
maiċ an ċleiċ dí as a díogail
sí do bheiċ do bainsíogain.

27. Ní hí an ċíog as ciontaċ suinn
a-muig uaibe dá n-anuinn
náis lé oċtgoin a hoidis
dá loċtais hé d'ionnsoigid.

28. D'fuil Ádaim gid dáil doilig
gan a ċeag ċall d'ionnsoigid
beiċ a-muig ní hé as oman
se guin n'Dé más dealogad.

29. Dá maiċead sé bios na mbonn
's gan ċóis d'iassaid san uball
a-tá as ndíol oisne d'foltaib
's gan ċíog t'oidre d'fionnoċtain.

30. Díod naċ geall se guin dtsoigig
an díol do iass t'éanoidis
dá ngabad an gcli 'n-a cion
ní fagas hí aċt le héigion.

31. Dul dá iassaid mad áil linn
an teag a-tá 'n-as n-oisċill
ní buan sé falad t'oidis
dá bragad hé d'ionnsoigid.

32. Ní hiongnad go n-uigċeas lib
gaċ ní dá n-iassfa as t'oidis
ceiltear neim glaice gonta
lib i n-aice t'ógaċta.

33. As ngníom féin do-sinne sinn
d'fios an tige naċ téigim
iongnad teag gan trát n-oinig
sgát as fear fa a ionnsoigid.

34. Lá togasma na dtrí sann
fa ċuing ċósa dá ndeaċam
doilge ná bios na boise
as gcion oisne d'fiadnoise.

35. D'éir baintre na dtrí dtaintnge
ní ham dó dar n-éantaidne
dá réanad roin coimde cáig
goin a hoidne dá admáil.

36. Dá dtí d'agra na gcóig gcnead
lá raoirta na ré linead
téid ag óig ar a heidir
cóir ar fearr ar m'fóimdin.

37. Ní fearr flead do na fleadaib
fread ar uairle d'fírfreadaib
flead Codail na gcnead gcroide
fread tobair na trócaire.

38. Ní hé nar urara dó
a feacna ar crann an cíoga
nír bac ré a tabb do tollad
gaol mar é ní fuaromar.

Mairg

Translation

1. 'Tis a grave thing to be responsible for (ordering) a " king's exploit " ; 'tis a thing not to be treated as of no account ; although the king's death saved us, it was a serious matter that needed to be debated beforehand.
2. The captain of the Six Hosts comes stainless into Mary's bosom ; in it she recived from the Father a son owing to her humility.
3. God's Son, to save us spite of the Law, forced His way through the nail-points; out beyond the nails were we, His folk ; He stepped forward to reach us.
4. Because of my grave sins I can not enter to drink of the wine-feast ; it was astonishing of me to turn my back on the hall yonder when there was a feast being drunk in it.
5. I can have full confidence—owing to what it tells me itself—in the wounded breast which is concluding a peace-bond with sinful men.
6. When I shall be charged with the value of the blood from Christ's wounds, my body can not act as judge in the matter and suppress all mention of my sins.
7. When the wounds demand their atonement—and it can not be shirked—the complaint of the sore foot will be serious enough, not to speak of thy son's death.
8. Mary must have her way ; a child must obey its mother ; when she has spent a little time talking with her son my debt will be suspended.
9. He consents to come and die—cruel fate !—to save us ; His love looks down from Heaven on His children who are in peril of not being invited (to the heavenly banquet).
10. Thy son was bound to take flesh for our salvation : the nail in His foot is proof that He fulfilled His agreement.
11. If requital of His wounds still awaits us it seems to me that we have not been really saved ; if it was for this that He wrought the Incarnation His (death and) burial is nothing for us to congratulate ourselves on.
12. The breast-blood which He let flow upon the ground makes Him the more patient (with us) ; her Son rested all His weight on the nail in His foot and thus was enabled to get hold of me.
13. Our Father's death at our hands was a crime of which we could not escape the consequences—even if all our other offences that were waiting for us were not to attack us.
14. In return for nursing her Son Mary received man's salvation : none of us had ever reached (Heaven) his home until she placed the Lord of the world at her breast.

15. Many the step—even Thy Son's death—Thou didst take in redeeming us; in pity (for us) Thou didst pay no heed to all the pangs caused by Thy heart's blood.
16. Thou must not let the multitude of our offences delay Thee (in saving us); it is we ourselves who prevent Thee from coming to us!
17. Thy breast must be as sore as ever if it is still pleading for its *éiric:* well may we, even now that Thy foot is cured, tremble at Thy approach.
18. In virtue of her virginity Mary can get us an entry to Thy feast; in her work of saving us she caused Thee to forget more things than the pain of the three nails!
19. Even if Thou were not set on avenging any of Thy Son's wounds, even if Thou forgive us the pierced breast, we still can not satisfy Thy claims.
20. As atonement for the spilling of Thy Son's blood is imposed upon us, we had better acknowledge that Thou wert crucified for the world's salvation.
21. If the debt for the wounded foot is still outstanding we are in as bad a state as ever; look down upon us, O heart-blood! now is the hour for showing Thy love.
22. Not to speak of Thy crucifixion and other wounds—for nothing can repay Thee for Thy nailing—I dread (above all) the blood of Thy breast (pierced by the lance).
23. Excess of love forced Thee to permit Thy Son's death; Thou thyself must speak in favour of that heart-wound (being responsible for it), and thus Thou forgivest me my offence.
24. If I get my wish to enter heaven I shall have got it from my advocate; not even the pain in His foot sets Thy Son against me.
25. Thy Son's death showed by its wonderous effects that it was not imposed on Him (against His will); 'twas marvellous how, even when slain, He could force God's justice to submit to Him.
26. We trust in the Virgin for the staying of the wrath He felt at the nail in His foot; the Lord's birth from a queen protects her from any punishment (for checking His wrath, &c).
27. If I stay aloof from Christ it is not His (wounded) breast that is the cause; she feels it a shame cast on her Son's wounded breast if men avoid approaching Him.
28. 'Tis a sad thing for Adam's race not to enter God's house yonder, for this means that they have no share in (the fruits of) God's wounding; being outside Heaven is not in itself the real danger for them.
29. If God were to forgive the wounds in His feet and were not to press for His debt in the matter of the apple, we should still have plenty of guilt on us—not to speak of our wounding of Thy Son's breast.
30. Though the price (*i.e.* penance) asked by thy Son is nothing like the value of the foot-wound, whenever God receives (into Heaven) a sinful body, that body is accepted only as a result of violence (done to itself by penance).
31. If we really desire to go to the house prepared for us, Thy Son's anger lasts not long when He finds Himself approached by us.
32. No wonder thou (O Mary!) canst get all thou askest of thy Son; in presence of thy virginity He forgets the pain of the pierced hand.
33. It is my sin that keeps me out of the mansion; how could anyone fear to go to that ever-hospitable house?
34. On the muster-day of the Three Hosts when I come 'neath the yoke of Justice, my sin will be a keener witness against me than the nail in Christ's hand.
35. Now that the three nails have been driven into His body He can not reject us; the wounds of Mary's Son testify to the salvation of the world—even were He to deny it.
36. On the salvation-day of the Six Generations if he come urging the five wounds against me the Virgin—and this is the strongest possible claim to my salvation—will prevail over her Son.
37. No feast surpasses this one, the noblest of all pure streams, the intoxicating feast of the wounds, the well-stream of mercy.
38. He might easily have saved Himself from the spear in His breast; He let His side be pierced; never have we experienced such love!

NOTES

MS: 23 D 14 p. 102. Readings departed from are here noted.

3*b*. tar ól. 4*b*. téiṫim 5*a*. ar *d*. cíg da cr. 6*a*. a luad ; cn. *c*. ceilt. 7*a* cn. 11*b*. cn. *c*. de 14*a*. i abest *c*. ri na ; cíc ; do vel gur *d*. dutaig 15*a*. *Leg* leir ceannċair? 16*a*. uair *c*. ar 17*b*. Leg. nír fil.? 20*c*. ceann. 21*c*. croiṫe 22*b*. bru. 23*c*. aiṫne gun cn. cr. 26*a*. beatha *c*. ceilt 28*a*. gé 29*a*. cíog 32*a*. brugtin *b*. niarrpae 33*b*. téiṫim 35*b*. ní am 36*c*. hoiṫir 38*d*. hé

EUROPE OVER CHINA—AND THE CONSEQUENCES

BY THOMAS FLEMING, S.J.

EXPERIMENTAL psychologists ponderously inform us that sufficiently prolonged annoyance of an individual will normally induce a state of intense exasperation productive of effects out of all proportion to their proximate causes. And what is thus predicated of the individual has been verified more than once in the long history of the Chinese people. For instance, in the third century before the coming of Christ the constant incursions of the northern barbarians provoked the building of the Great Wall—that immense structure, averaging about twenty feet in thickness, which climbs mountains and descends valleys from the eastern seashore to the extreme west of the province of Shensi, a distance of roughly 1,500 miles. In more recent centuries the nation's reaction to another source of continual annoyance—this time caused by the " barbarians " coming from the west—led to the abnormal policy of the Closed Door, which was ultimately forced ajar by the system of the Treaty Ports.

In spite of the fact that Chinese history reveals much national hostility to foreigners, it is at the same time true that the Chinese people are by nature and tradition extremely polite—those of us who have lived amongst them have often found their politeness excessive. What is the explanation of this glaring paradox ? How is it possible to reconcile excessive politeness with an apparent absence of hospitality towards strangers ? The answer is to be found in a certain metaphysical principle which states that the deflection of a body from its natural disposition can only be explained by the action of some extrinsic cause. Thus the perversion of the Chinese people from their natural benevolence to the unnatural xenophobia which they have at times manifested must be attributed to some external agent, and this agent is

obviously none other than the prolonged foreign aggression which the nation has endured.

That China's antipathy to the foreigner is based on the latter's misdeeds rather than on mere racial pride or prejudice is amply evidenced by the generous and lavish hospitality shown to immigrants during several centuries of Chinese history. The Nestorians for instance, in spite of their foreign origin, were received with honour by the Emperor T'ai Tsung in the seventh century.[1] Later on, in the twelfth century, China proved far more hospitable than Europe—at least towards the Jews, who (when driven by persecution from the West) were permitted to settle in Honan and were even presented with land by the first Ming Emperor.[2] In the thirteenth century Kublai Khan invited foreign missionaries to come and spread Christianity in his vast Empire, and about the same time Marco Polo, a Venetian by birth and allegiance, was appointed Prefect of Yangchow. Before the end of the same century, John of Montecorvino, the famous Franciscan missionary, arrived in Peking and soon afterwards was shown special marks of favour by the reigning Emperor.[3]. At the beginning of the seventeenth century—that is, within living memory of the time when England under Elizabeth was imprisoning and torturing Catholic priests—the Jesuits were enjoying the special patronage of the Imperial Court in Peking. The following statement of that extreme nationalist, Mr. T'ang Leang-li, throws a good deal of light on the question as to why Father Ricci and his followers were received with open arms, while other foreign visitors during the same period met with continual hostility. Mr. T'ang writes: "... the Jesuits in Peking ... have in general served China and the Chinese to the profound gratitude of the nation. The Jesuits have given to China the best of what contemporary Europe could give, and they have interpreted the spirit of China in a way that no Chinese could have improved on. They came to China essentially as students and servants, true to the spirit of their faith, *not ... as ... civilisers ...*"[4]

[1] Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, 1929, pp. 53 sq.
[2] H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals*, 1915, pp. 242 sq.
[3] Latourette, op. cit., pp. 71 sq. [4] T'ang Leang-li, *China in Revolt*, 1927, p. 42.

Unfortunately, however, over a hundred years before the time when the Jesuits were being honoured in Peking, visiting foreigners in South China had already aroused the hostility of the Chinese, as an ancient record informs us: "During the reign of Chingteh (about 1500) foreigners from the West called Fah-lan-ki (*i.e.*, French), who said they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue (now Bocca Tigris) and by their tremendously loud guns shook the place far and near. This was reported at Court, and an order was returned to drive them away immediately and stop their trade. About this time also the Hollanders, who in ancient times inhabited a wild territory and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and hair were red; their bodies tall; they had blue eyes sunk deep in their heads; their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long; and they frightened the people by their strange appearance."[1]

The impression made on "the black-haired race" by these Dutchmen proved to be a lasting one. In South China to-day the words "foreign" and "red-haired" are synonymous, so that not merely are the white race referred to as "the red-haired people," but even foreign cement for instance is colloquially called "red-haired clay." The origin of the term "foreign devil" is not quite so clear. Dyer Ball, dealing with the matter, states that "during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries large numbers of black slaves of both sexes from the East Indian Archipelago were purchased by the great houses of Canton to serve as gate-keepers. They were called 'devil-slaves,' and it is not improbable that the term 'foreign devil,' so freely used by the Chinese for foreigners, may have had this origin."[2]

The Portuguese, who arrived in South China about the same time, do not seem to have broken down the anti-foreign prejudice already forming—rather the contrary. For as a result of their lawlessness they were driven from Canton in 1521 and from Ningpo in 1545. That they deserved their expulsion is candidly admitted by one of their number, Fer-

[1] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, II, New York, 1883, p. 427.
[2] Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, London, 1904, p. 628.

nando Mentez Minto, who writes: "We lost so mightily our credit and reputation throughout the country that the inhabitants desired to see us no more, saying that we were incarnate devils engendered by the curse of God."[1]

The next arrivals in Canton were the English under Captain Weddel, who in 1637 sailed up the Pearl River with a squadron of five ships. They came to seek commercial privileges, but the Portuguese "beslandered them to the Chinese, reporting them to be rogues, thieves, beggars, and what not"[2]—with the result that the Chinese unceremoniously opened fire on the English ships. The visitors, resenting this warm reception, replied with vigour and then sailed away. Not long afterwards, however, other English traders managed to effect an entry.

As a result of the lawlessness of many of these early arrivals, the Chinese gradually formed a very low opinion of the white race—*ab uno disce omnes*. "These barbarians are like wild beasts," a Chinese writer stated, "and they ought not to be treated as civilised men. To try to apply to them the great principles of reason would only lead to confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly they ruled barbarians only by violence or craft. And this is the right way of ruling them."[3] This antipathy to foreigners finally became so intense that in 1757 an Imperial Edict closed all parts of the Empire to foreign trade, Canton alone being excepted on account of the commercial advantage which its merchants derived from such intercourse. Thus originated the policy of the Closed Door, which blocked the efforts of merchants and missionaries for so many years.

The exception to the Edict of 1757 made in the case of Canton seems to have been the occasion of continual friction between the English and Cantonese merchants. This mutual aversion may perhaps be partially accounted for by the fact that the British considered the demands of Chinese politeness as humiliating and insulting, while the Chinese on their side, finding that the British did not observe their code of politeness, treated them as beings devoid of all culture and manners.

[1] G. Maspero, *La Chine*, Paris, 1918, p. 96. [2] T'ang Leang-li, *op. cit.* [3] *Ibid.*

English historians of the time accuse the Chinese of arrogance, but that their own countrymen were not quite free from the same fault is revealed by the following letter written by the British Commissioner to the Governor of Canton: "I must now request you to declare to them [the Chinese merchants] that His Majesty the King of England is a great and powerful monarch, that he rules over an extent of territory in the four quarters of the world more comprehensive in space and infinitely more so in power than the whole Empire of China, that he commands armies of bold and fierce soldiers who have conquered wherever they went, and that he is possessed of great ships where no native of China has ever yet dared to show his face . . . ."[1]

The true cause of the first war between England and China in 1839-1840 is not easy to determine. Chinese historians declare that the conflict was caused by the efforts of English merchants to force opium into the Empire, and it was because of China's resistance to such an iniquitous proceeding that war broke out. English scholars, on the other hand, categorically reject this explanation. We are not concerned with the *pros* and *cons* of the case, but only with the consequences, which are set forth thus by Mr. T'ang Leang-li: "The continued smuggling of opium by the British merchants made the Chinese Government finally suspend all commerce with the 'barbarians.' England thereupon declared war . . . . Out of this assault of Western greed and lawlessness on Chinese morality there was born in 1842 the Treaty of Nanking . . . (which) handed over to England the island of Hongkong and imposed on China the payment of an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were also opened to British trade and residence . . . ."[2]

That is the Chinese point of view. The British point of view is given by Mr. W. E. Soothill, the well-known Chinese scholar and English missionary, in his *History of China* (1929): "It was neither to force opium or trade on China that the

[1] Gowan and Hall, *An Outline History of China*, New York, 1927, p. 249.
[2] T'ang Leang-li, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 sqq.

war of 1842 was fought, for it should be self-evident that to 'force' either on unwilling buyers is impossible. The war was fought to obtain national recognition on terms of reasonable equality. It ended in the treaty of Nanking, by which Hong-Kong was ceded to the British and five other ports were opened to trade" (p. 62).

Whatever the cause or occasion of the war may have been, the Chinese people are convinced that the origin of Hongkong and the International Settlement at Shanghai is somehow connected with the British efforts to force opium on the nation. Indeed, prior to the present absorption of the nation with Japan, one frequently heard discussed—even in remote Chinese villages—the question of the return of Hongkong to China and the removal from the map of that irritating red spot allegedly put there by the Opium War.

Another permanent grievance which Chinese patriots have against foreign nations is the imposition of the principle of extraterritoriality. After the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, this privilege of the exemption of foreigners from the jurisdiction of Chinese law-courts was exacted from the Empire by a supplementary agreement signed on October 3, 1843. According to this principle of extraterritoriality foreigners resident in China who violate the law of the land cannot be tried or imprisoned by the Chinese authorities, but only by their own consular courts. The Chinese people have deeply resented this infringement of their sovereign rights, which is really a gratuitous insult to the national administration of justice. Other countries have also rankled under a similar imposition—for instance Japan, Turkey and Egypt. But Japan abolished extraterritoriality in 1898, and Turkey did likewise after the Great War, and quite recently Egypt has been freed from the same disability by the Montreux Convention. China is at present the sole sufferer under this humiliating system. In recent years she has made strenuous efforts to shake off these shackles, but so far without success. She brought the matter up at the Washington Conference in 1922, which after considerable discussion passed a resolution expressing sympathy with China's aspirations and providing

for a commission to investigate the matter. The commission ultimately visited China in 1926 and reported favourably on China's ability to give proper protection to foreigners and their property; but nothing more happened.

It is believed in China that if Britain and the United States were to give a lead and renounce this privilege, all the other Powers would immediately follow. Accordingly, in 1928 the Chinese Government sent a Note to the United States on this matter. A somewhat evasive reply was given. The British reply to a similar Note was equally evasive, with the result that the Nanking Government, thoroughly disgusted with these continual delays, finally issued a mandate in 1929 to the effect that as from January 1, 1930 "all foreigners in China now enjoying extraterritorial privileges shall abide by the laws, ordinances and regulations duly promulgated by the central and local governments of China." This mandate drew an immediate protest from France, while other Powers declared that they took a "serious view" of the matter. As the Nanking Government had at the time sufficient difficulties to face without adding to them a quarrel with the Powers, the mandate was not enforced. And there the matter stands for the present.

The imposition of extraterritoriality after the Treaty of Nanking was followed in the next decade by the introduction of an institution which Chinese Nationalists also consider to be a serious infringement of their country's independence. This institution is the "Chinese Maritime Customs." The origin of this interesting corporation came about as follows: When the T'ai P'ing rebels captured Shanghai in 1853, the Chinese government was no longer able to collect the small import tariff of five per cent. *ad valorem* which had been permitted to it by the Treaty of Nanking. However, while the rebels were in charge of Shanghai, a foreign board of customs officials took in hand the work of collecting the import duties—whether at the request of the Chinese government or on the initiative of the foreign consuls is not quite clear. After the T'ai P'ing rebellion had been crushed, this group of foreigners continued to control the Shanghai customs

and ultimately extended their control to the other Treaty Ports as well. The Chinese government at first approved of this arrangement and later on agreed that the appointment of the Inspector-General should be conceded to the nation having the largest aggregate trade with China. From that date until the present day the Inspector General has always been a British appointee—the best known being the Irishman, Sir Robert Hart. The Japanese effort to interfere with this arrangement last December (after their capture of Shanghai) was successfully resisted by Britain and the other Powers interested in the working of the system.

With the rapid increase of Far Eastern trade the customs revenues have swelled enormously, and it is on this annual source of income that most of the foreign loans to China are secured. The annual instalments of the various war indemnities imposed on the nation have also been taken out of the same treasure-chest. Although it is generally admitted that the Chinese Maritime Customs have been efficiently managed, still Chinese Nationalists have always resented their foreign management as an encroachment on the sovereignty of the nation. They have protested also against the fact that the Chinese government was not free to determine its own tariffs, and that consequently it could not make reciprocal commercial treaties with other countries. For instance, in the first half of the last decade Chinese tea imported into Britain was subject to a tax of 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, Chinese silk imported into U.S.A. to a tax of upwards of 60 per cent., and Chinese tobacco imported into Japan to a tax of 350 per cent., while the Chinese government in reply could only levy a tax of five per cent. on imports coming from these countries—no matter what the imports were and no matter how they interfered with native industries.[1] This grievance was, however, remedied in 1929; and by 1934 import taxes were sufficiently high to protect home manufactures and to provide badly-needed revenue for national reconstruction. But since the Japanese have become the *de facto* rulers of Shanghai and Nanking, the tariff rates have again undergone a change

[1] T'ang Leang-li, *op cit.*, p. 54.

—the 1934 taxes on imports being recently reduced by upwards of 35 per cent. The present Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Sir Frederick Maze, was officially notified of these changes on May 31, but according to Reuter " the Customs authorities at Shanghai have decided to ignore the revised tariff rates."[1]

Returning again to chronological order after this digression, we find that soon after the taking over of the Chinese Customs by foreigners serious Sino-British trouble broke out at Canton. In 1856 the Cantonese Governor, Yeh, seized the lorcha " Arrow," suspecting it of opium smuggling or other piratical activities. The English flag, under which it was sailing, was hauled down and fourteen of the crew were arrested. Such disrespect towards the British flag could not of course be let go unpunished—especially as the offending nation was unable to defend itself. An ultimatim was given to Governor Yeh, but he decided to stand firm. Canton was accordingly bombarded and captured after a brief conflict—known to the Chinese as the " Second Opium War." Such misunderstandings, which were followed by reprisals and counter-reprisals, tended to further increase the antagonism of the Chinese to the white race in general.

Misunderstandings and tragedies of this nature were so far more or less confined to certain localities; but when in 1855 the French took Tongking from China, there began a series of events which ultimately provoked the whole country into concerted action for the French example was soon followed by other nations. In 1894 Japan attacked China, severed Korea from the Empire and annexed Formosa and the Liao-tung peninsula. The latter, however, was soon afterwards returned to China as the result of pressure brought to bear on Japan by Russia, France and Germany, who feared that such an annexation might disturb the balance of power in North East China. In compensation for this " concession " the big war indemnity already imposed was increased.

The obvious helplessness of the Chinese defence forces as revealed by the crushing defeat of 1894 aroused the cupidity

[1] *The Times*, London, June 1, 1938.

of the European Powers, and an international grabbing competition became the order of the day. The murder of two German Catholic missioners gave Germany a pretext for seizing Kiaochow on the coast of Shantung. Russia countered this move by extracting a lease of Port Arthur in March 1898. In April Britain entered the game by obtaining a lease of Weihaiwei, and in the following month France drew level with her rivals by acquiring Kwangchouwan. Other nations made similar demands on the helpless Empire, with the result that, " by 1899, in all China's three thousand miles of coast-line there was not a harbour in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner."[1]

These continual encroachments on China's territorial integrity aroused the fury of the anti-Manchu secret society known as the I Ho Ch'uan (literally " The Righteous and Harmonious Fists " or, more briefly, " The Boxers "). These misguided patriots, in their zeal to liberate their country from foreign domination, decided that the quickest way to achieve this end would be to murder every foreigner whom they might come across. In 1900 they besieged the Legations at Peking, but their attacks were successfully resisted until the arrival of an international relief force. The Boxer rising then collapsed, and a heavy indemnity was imposed on the nation to be paid in annual instalments to the various Powers concerned until the year 1940—these annual instalments to be taken out of the revenue collected by the Chinese Maritime Customs.

The collapse of the Boxer rising still further impressed on the Powers the weakness of the Celestial Empire, and a scramble for spheres of influence began. Britain claimed the rich Yangtze valley as her special preserve; Russia agreed to confine her activities to the North of the Great Wall; Germany chose Shantung; Japan reserved Fukien (which lay convenient to Formosa); while France (already installed in Tongking) decided to concentrate on the development of Yunnan and South China. It was as the result of such activities that Sun Yat-sen declared: " China has come to be the poorest and weakest country in the world, occupying the

[1] Gowan and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

lowest place in the consortium of the nations. Other nations hold the knife and the dish, whereas we are the fish and the meat . . . . China being oppressed by the Powers has lost her position as a nation and has become not merely a semi-colony but worse still—worse even than Burma, Annam and Korea. For Burma, Annam and Korea are colonies of only one country, the slaves of only one master; but China is the colony of all countries and the slave of more than ten masters."[1]

At the beginning of the present century China's prospects were decidedly black, but in 1904-5 an event took place which caused a ray of hope to penetrate the gathering gloom. This event was the Russo-Japanese War, ending in the defeat of one of the Great White Powers by an Asiatic State. The prestige of the white race had suffered a severe set-back: the white nations were evidently not invincible; and what Japan could do, China also could achieve. But the first step on the road to success must be national reform: efficient methods of government must be adopted, and as the Imperial court had long since become hopelessly corrupt and inefficient it must be removed as speedily as possible. Accordingly in 1905 Sun Yat-sen founded in Tokyo a revolutionary society sworn to destroy Manchu rule and to liberate China from foreign domination. The members of this society worked through various patriotic organisations already existing in different localities. The movement spread rapidly. Secret arms factories began to spring up in all the big centres of population. In the year 1911 an explosion in one of these munition factories prematurely precipitated the revolution. The corrupt and inefficient government made little resistance, the Emperor abdicated, and the Republic came into being.

The early years of the new Republic were chaotic. Accordingly in 1915, when the other Powers were pre-occupied with the Great War, Japan made her first attempt to replace the programme of "Europe over China" by that of "Japan over Asia." She presented to China the notorious "Twenty-one Demands," the acceptance of which would have reduced

[1] P. D'Elia, S.J., *The Triple Demism of Sun Yat-sen*, Wuchang, 1931, pp. 71, 273 sq.

the newly-formed Chinese Republic to the status of a mere Japanese Protectorate.[1] But it so happened that, while Japan was learning imperialism from the example of the European Powers, China was at the same time learning by painful experience the urgent necessity of firmly resisting such imperialistic tendencies. Hence the publication of these Twenty-one Demands caused in China a furious outburst of indignation resulting in a nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods. This was Japan's first experience of China's newly acquired nationalism—the nation's reaction to the policy of "Europe over China"—and the shock was so violent that the extortionate demands were tactfully dropped.

The next country to experience the full rigours of a Chinese boycott was Great Britain. In May 1925 an anti-Japanese demonstration took place in the International Settlement of Shanghai in consequence of which a number of Chinese students were arrested. As a protest several other students went to the police-station insisting that they also be arrested. A crowd soon gathered in the vicinity of the building and refused to disperse. The inspector in charge, a Britisher named Everson, called out in English a threat to open fire, but it appears that the crowd did not understand English. Almost immediately after this warning (within about ten seconds was Everson's own admission at the investigation which followed), the order was given "Shoot to kill!" The police thereupon aimed point-blank into the crowd, killing five and wounding some twenty others—four of whom afterwards died.[2]

This incident was broadcasted to the nation, and the news led to several anti-foreign demonstrations. As a result of one of these demonstrations at Hankow, British marines turned machine-guns on a crowd of Chinese and caused eight deaths. During similar disturbances at Canton British and French troops guarding the International Settlement of Shameen shot dead fifty-three Chinese demonstrators. These shooting affrays caused intense indignation throughout China, and a rigorous anti-British boycott was declared. Chinese

[1] W. H. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, London, 1938, pp. 81 sqq.
[2] T'ang Leang-li. *op. cit.*

merchants refused to sell British goods, Chinese seamen deserted from British ships, Chinese railways refused to transport British merchandise, Chinese servants and assistants disappeared from British-owned houses and shops. British trade was thus completely paralysed. During the first three months of the boycott in Hongkong British losses amounted to about £15,000,000, and with the continuation of the strike the number of bankruptcies went up by leaps and bounds. The general strike lasted until February 1926, and the boycott was not called off until October of the same year.

During this protracted quarrel a flood of propaganda was poured out by both sides, each trying to fix the blame on the other; but the most important consequence of the whole business was that the Powers had now learnt by experience that they could no longer bully China as in former times. "Europe over China" had definitely come to an end. Friendly co-operation was found to be more effective than the multiplication of military and naval demonstrations. And China was not slow to respond to the new policy. As early as 1926 Chiang Kai-shek made it clear that Chinese nationalism did not necessarily involve an anti-foreign attitude: "We are not pro-Russian nor are we anti-British [he declared]. Our sole aim is to fight for China . . . . We will be 'pro' any country that helps to put China on her feet . . ."[1] In accordance with the new policy of conciliation England gradually restored to China the British concessions at Amoy, Weihaiwei, Chinkiang, Kiukiang and Hankow, at the same time agreeing that all British subjects residing in the former Kiukiang concession should pay taxes according to Chinese law. Other nations did likewise. Commenting on this voluntary restitution, the Chinese extraterritoriality expert, Ching Chun-wang, last year declared: "Nanking considers these steps most significant and appreciates them highly."[2]

THOMAS FLEMING

[1] Hollington K. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, London, 1938, p. 140.
[2] *Foreign Affairs*, July 1937, p. 746.

RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

In a book published some ten years ago, *La Trahison des Clercs*, that made a considerable impression at the time, Julien Benda took to task the men of letters of his day for promulgating, not the accepted doctrines of justice and charity derived by us from the Gospels, but theories of hatred and intolerance, warning his countrymen of the evil results that must ensue. This treason of the clerks, he asserted, was a new thing in civilised life, for it meant the bold upholding of national interests against the dictates of justice and the providing of a philosophic sanction for acts of violence which have occurred indeed in all ages, but which, for long centuries, have been condemned by the Christian conscience of Europe. D'Annunzio in Italy, Kipling in England, Barrès, Maurras and even poor Péguy in France, were all singled out as distinguished offenders. If true then, as indeed in a measure the accusation was, how much more true a decade later when political passions invade every sphere of intellectual life and when literature, art, science and even music are called upon to serve the interests of race and creed and national self-sufficiency, so that it is no exaggeration to say that hatred and misrepresentation are more rife in Europe to-day than even during the war years 1914-1918.

All this is brought to our mind by the reading of Georges Bernanos' latest work, *Les Grands Cimetières sous la Lune*. True it is that every volume by Bernanos has been destined to excite heated controversy, thanks at once to the splendour of his prose and to the uncompromising nature of his opinions. It is the very intensity of his Catholic faith that has inspired his now familiar diatribes against the *bien pensants*, against a shallow conventional piety—in a word, against all the spiritual deficiencies of which, in this imperfect world, most Catholics may be guilty. His new book, however, goes much further than this, and the Spanish civil war is the occasion. Bernanos, it seems, had been living in Majorca for three years when the rebellion broke out; his son was a volunteer in the local Phalangist corps, and he himself is a monarchist, an anti-democrat and an admirer of Charles Maurras; so that his sympathies would naturally be on the side of the military rising under Franco. But remaining at Palma, he was witness of the Italian landing in the island and of the terror organised by a certain Fascist officer, Rossi by name, and pursued relentlessly against all and sundry who could be suspected of republican sympathies.

One cannot reasonably doubt the truthfulness of Bernanos' testimony concerning lamentable incidents of which the barest rumours have been allowed to leak out in the European press. Admittedly

it is almost beyond human nature to describe objectively outrages seen with one's own eyes, to retain one's sense of proportion, to attribute political crimes far less to individual perversity than to the blind forces of rage and destruction that emerge in all ages and all countries in times of war and anarchy. Yet this is just what we were justified in hoping for from a writer capable of the sensitive psychology of his earlier novels. Instead Bernanos has lost all his sense of proportion and has turned his unrivalled powers of invective and his biting sarcasm against his co-religionists. He shows himself not merely anti-*bien-pensant*—he has been that before—and specifically anti-Jesuit, but in places even anti-Christian. Thus he goes so far as to hold up to derision the Majorcan priests who attended the executions that, presumeably, they were quite powerless to hinder. Would he have held them in higher esteem had they allowed the victims to die unshriven, as the Nazis compelled Dollfuss? Criticised severely, not without cause, in the Catholic press, Bernanos' letter of justification, addressed to the Editor of "Etudes" (July 20), said little or nothing to explain or justify his attitude. The book remains a real disappointment to the warm admirers of his *Journal d'un Curé de Campagne.*

It is of interest that *La Documentation Catholique*, a fortnightly record of authentic documents concerning questions of the day, devotes several pages (July 20) to the "Basque Problem" from both sides, a controversy which has already produced in France a considerable volume of literature. It is probably François Mauriac, more addicted at the moment to questions of the day than to fiction, who has summed up most effectively all that can be urged in favour of the unhappy Basque people in his preface to V. Montserrat's *Le Drame d'un Peuple incompris*, with its appeal to his "cher et grand Claudel" to include the shot Basque priests among the Spanish martyrs he celebrates in his "Franquist" poem. This juxtaposition of two such distinguished Catholic names is but one more proof of the intensity of the feelings aroused on both sides by the Spanish conflict and that at the moment all literature dealing with the subject is inevitably propaganda of the Right or of the Left. Perhaps Malraux' *Esprit* is the most detached and veridic picture of life in Republican Spain—less anti-clerical, communist as he is, than Bernanos—that has yet appeared; but clearly we still have to wait some time before any balanced appreciation of events in the peninsula can be hoped for.

It is a relief to escape from the controversial spirit and to turn to the reflections inspired in Jacques Maritain by recent international events. And although many may differ from him in the attitude he, Mauriac, Stanilas Fumet and other Catholic writers have adopted concerning episodes in the Spanish war, no one surely would contest the deep spiritual concern with which this Catholic philosopher en-

visages the progressive paganisation of Europe and the moral defections that spring from international hatred. It was resolved this spring in Paris to organise a series of public lectures at the Ambassadors' theatre by noted Catholic leaders of thought, among whom Maritain naturally found a place. The brilliant success of the lectures was an indication of that Catholic revival in France whose reality can no longer be questioned. Anti-clericalism as a public policy of the Republic is dead, and although the election of Charles Maurras to the Academy was carried through in the face of Catholic opinion—largely, it is said, as a protest against his recent term of imprisonment—there has been a most welcome *apaisement* of religious strife throughout the country.

In his lecture on " The Christian and the World " (since published), epitomising much of his recent teaching, Maritain, skilfully avoiding mere political controversy, urged that a Christian social order can only be restored by Christian means. If it is true, he argued, that the great scandal of our time, in the words of Pius XI, is the divorce between religion and the mass of the workers, it is clear we must approach them not with threats and violence, but with love, a love stronger than death. He deplored the dualism existing around us between the things of God and the things of this world and pointed out that it is the enslavement of Christian ideology to an anti-Christian practice that lay at the root of our present ills. It is the paganisation of our civilisation that has caused men to place their hopes in force alone and in the efficacity of hatred, and yet every Christian should realise the need for preserving both in thought and action the sense of personal dignity and the heroic ideal of fraternal love. Never, he declared, has the threat of an universal oppression of the spirit been greater than to-day. Thus Maritain at least stands beyond Julien Benda's reproaches and his influence in France is considerable.

Catholic circles have just lost, comparatively young, a popular woman novelist writing under the name of Jean Balde, whose books can be unhesitatingly recommended to the general reader. Brought up in a country-house overlooking the wide stretch of the Gironde, it is this landscape, with its vineyards and gardens and rich vegetation, that supplies the background of her novels as in many of Mauriac's. Her central conception is the Christian ideal of the family, the basis at once of religion and of social order, any departure from which is shown by her to be disastrous. Yet she has a keen understanding of the individual who fails to fit in with the normal. Thus in *La Touffe de Gui*, one of her best stories, Melle de Saint-Ciers, the victim of a starved childhood, suffers all her life from a cramped embittered vision together with a morbid craving for affection which causes her to adopt, almost forcibly, the little daughter of a school friend dying of consumption. But, as in her own case, this disruption of normal family

life leads only to unhappiness on both sides. *Le Goéland* gives the history of an illegitimate boy for whom his mother, in secret, does her utmost at the peril of her reputation. But Michel, boarded out in a fishing village near Arcachon, is known locally as *le bâtard* and his whole youth is darkened by the mystery that hangs over his birth. The wrong once done, social and spiritual evils are bound to ensue and nothing can put things right. Though over-sentimental for present day taste, Jean Balde is too true an artist to be guilty of preaching; her moral develops naturally from circumstances, and her stories are lightened by sketches of life among peasants and fisherfolk.

Another Catholic writer, Mme Camille Meyran, has just published a novel, *La Dame en Noir*, that probes, at once with frankness and delicacy, into rather deeper problems of our social life. Told partly in retrospect in the modern manner, it unfolds the girlhood and brief married life of Pauline de la Houssoye as revealed to her in a new light thanks to the unconventional betrothal of her daughter Paule to a medical student. For the young couple are essentially modern and candid in their outlook, and love each other deeply and unreservedly, whereas Pauline herself, brought up in the strictest conventions of French provincial society in pre-war years, had made a purely conventional marriage to a cavalry officer ready to *ranger* himself by matrimony, and then had the misfortune to develop sentimental emotions for which her particular union offered no outlet. Had nature in her case been frustrated and had her loveless life been lived in vain, Pauline asks herself in secret anguish. Happily Catholic principles and the wise advice of a Carmelite sister bring back peace to the troubled soul and all ends, if not happily, at least resignedly.

Readers of Georges Goyau's profoundly interesting history of Calvinist autocracy in seventeenth century Geneva, *Une Ville-Eglise*, may like to continue their study of the special reactions of Calvinism on human nature in Guy de Pourtalés' recent novel *La Pêche Miraculeuse*, already translated into English under the title *Shadows Around the Lake* (Routledge, 8s. 6d.). Guy de Pourtalés, a member of the old Huguenot family of that name, who has hitherto been chiefly known by his charming studies of musical genius—Wagner, Chopin and Liszt—has portrayed with keen insight those proud, exclusive Calvinist families that, until the great war, lived in the fine stone houses of the Ville Haute and dominated the society of Geneva. To-day, from all this the young generation has largely broken away, with varying results on character shown both in their religious and social implications. One suspects a certain autobiographical strain in this thoughtful contribution to religious psychology. The book has been awarded the Grand Prix du Roman by the French Academy.

V. M. Crawford

REVIEWS

Religion

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ASCETICAL AND MYSTICAL THEOLOGY. By Archbishop Goodier.

THE THREE WAYS OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. From the French of Père Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.

ORDEALS OF SOULS. A continuation of his spiritual letters on the practice of self-abandonment to Divine Providence. By Father J. P. de Caussade, S.J. A new translation by Algar Thorold.

ANTHOLOGY OF MYSTICISM. Edited with introduction and notes by Paul de Jaegher, S.J. Translated by Donald Attwater.

London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1938. 7/6, 3/6, 5/–, 7/6 respectively.

THE first volume, which is the substance of seventeen lectures delivered at Heythrop College, the headquarters for theological studies of the English Jesuits, is an admirable survey of Catholic spirituality.

> "Though deep yet clear; though gentle yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

A book to lend to any of our separated brethren of good-will who would like to know something reliable and complete about the inner life in the Catholic Church, it is cast in a very readable form. Lectures I to VI give a general survey of all types of spiritual life and growth down the ages and among all nations—a vast subject very competently treated, brief where brevity was essential, but excellently done. Lectures VII-XI treat of the doctrinal side of Catholic spirituality. I particularly admired Lectures VII and VIII, a really wonderful exposition both in matter and manner. But all the lectures in Part II (VII to XI) are excellent and should prove very useful as an apologetic. It will enable men of good-will, who are still in the darkness of unbelief, to understand us better, to realize why we are, as they think, such curious, impossible people. But above all it will help the Catholic to realize the greatness of his calling. Outside the great spiritual classics I have never read a better persuasive to the service of God.

Part III (Lectures XII to XVII) deals with the ways of the spiritual life. The author avoids the discussion of disputed questions and seems to follow the beaten track prudently, brightly and alertly. Only in the last two lectures, where the Archbishop of Hierapolis deals with the unitive life, contemplation and mysticism, do we realize more by hint than assertion that he is of the school of Rodriguez rather than that of Lallemant. We can understand why he did not relish the Spiritual Letters of Dom Chapman! In his last lecture, "On Mysticism," the views insinuated seem to suggest that mystical experience is quite charismatic. The picture of the mystic with which he concludes, a

very beautiful essay, seems to me rather extravagant. I cannot fit St. Francis de Sales or Saint Jeanne de Chantal into his frame. But perhaps that is due to my prejudice and stupidity.

But these are all marginal and disputed questions. The Archbishop does not stress them, and his few asides do not detract from the general high level of a work which is a real introduction to the Catholic philosophy of prayer, one of the very best I have seen.

THE small book by Père Garrigou-Lagrange should be read with Archbishop Goodier's Lectures, so that the Dominican view of the spiritual life may supplement the Jesuit. It is a compendium of the doctrine set out in the author's *Perfection Chrétienne et Contemplation.* It is also a most readable and edifying book. The well instructed layman can readily follow the author's thought without requiring a cleric's education in theology, and Père Garrigou-Lagrange will afford him an insight into some of those diputed questions of spirituality which have caused so much ink to be shed in the last decade. We should supplement or, should I say, implement the rather conservative views of Archbishop Goodier on the spiritual life with the more liberal views of a great Dominican theologian who carries on worthily the great Dominican tradition of the "Science of the Saints."

FATHER DE CAUSSADE represents the other stream of Jesuit spirituality, the school of Lallement, Balthasar Alvarez, Surin, Rigoleuc—roughly the mystics as distinct from the pure ascetics. The present series of letters dealing with spiritual troubles, Sterility, Impotency, Aversion and other sufferings, afflictions and hardships in the religious life will be of great use, if read wisely, by all afflicted souls. I say, "if read wisely," for letters of direction are very individual things, meant for the recipient and not for others. What is the right advice for the penitent, may be utterly wrong for her sister to whom she gives her director's letter to read. Letters of direction are not to be taken like patent medicines! No two souls are led in the same way for even half their course, as St. John of the Cross insists. Still, letters of direction have a force and liveliness you do not find often in books for pious reading, for they are concrete and living, not abstract advice. Hence the value of this collection, if the matter is suitable to the reader.

Père de Caussade flourished at a time when the two panics of Jansenism and Quietism disturbed all the convents and religious houses in France—and that in what was most sacred and delicate, the sacraments, prayer, contemplation. It needed some courage to be a director of souls in those days.

A REVIEW of the French edition of the fourth book has already appeared in STUDIES (June 1934). Some changes have been made in the English

version. Two early mystics, Hadewych and Beatrix of Nazareth, have been omitted. Also Jean de St. Samson, 1571-1636. These have been replaced by Richard Rolle, the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*, Walter Hilton and Augustine Baker. Naturally English mystics should appear in an English anthology, and at least the "Cloud" is worthy of a place, for it is one of the most remarkable of mystical treatises ever written. The analogies of its doctrine with that of St. John of the Cross are so close, that one wonders if he had not seen some Latin or Spanish translation brought from the Spanish Netherlands. Augustine Baker was a contemporary of Jean de St. Samson, and a parallel of the two would be interesting.

Father Jaegher's introduction has been slightly condensed. It is one of the most valuable parts of this valuable collection of specimen texts. We have here plenty of matter for spiritual reading and that great literature to boot. That is the outstanding value of a mystical anthology, its literary and spiritual appeal ; for study one must look up the extract in its original setting. But quotations lead one to references and references lead to study of the whole text, so anthologies are useful as well as elegant. JOHN HOWLEY

MATTHEW, MARK AND LUKE. A Study of the Synoptic Problem. By the late Dom John Chapman. Edited by Mgr. John M. T. Barton, D.D. London : Longmans. 1937. 25s. net.

REV. MAURICE JONES, D.D., in *The New Testament in the Twentieth Century* (Macmillan 1934), writes : "Controversies concerning the authorship and authenticity of the books of the New Testament are no longer of primary interest. . . The Synoptic Gospels are generally acknowledged to have reached their present form before the year 80 A.D., and if Harnack's latest concessions on the subject are to be accepted, all three Gospels may well have been written before 65 A.D. In any case interest no longer centres so much upon their authenticity and dates as upon their mutual relations to one another . . . Criticism may be said to have brought about a fairly general settlement of the questions of authorship, authenticity and dates as they affect the New Testament, and this consensus is not likely to be seriously modified in the near future" (Introd. pp. 4, 5).

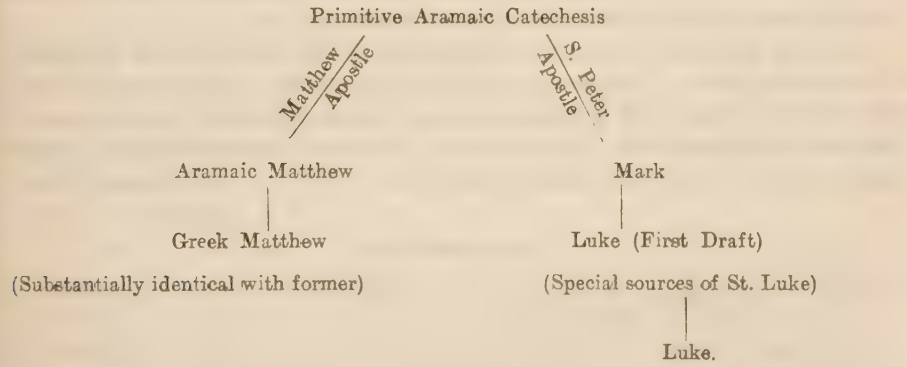
In other words the whole Critical attack upon the genuinity of the New Testament has broken down. Hence the question is no longer interesting ! Controversy turns on what is known as the Synoptic Problem. It is to be feared that many are led to the study of it in the hope of weakening in some way the value of the testimony. But it would be unjust to attribute such motivation to all. For unlike the question of authenticity, which was always a pseudo-problem created by the critics themselves—in defiance of the evidence—the Synoptic

Problem is a genuine one, forcing itself on the mind of every thoughtful reader. Perhaps, indeed, it is insoluble; for the written sources behind the Gospels have all perished, and reconstruction of them from mere internal criticism is so delicate and difficult that general agreement is hardly attainable.

The study of the question has not been wholly neglected by Catholic authors. But non-Catholics have devoted far more time and attention to it; and it is only just to add that they have sifted and resifted the texts with a keenness and industry worthy of all praise. The tendency, however, to hint at some loss of strict historical value, though quite unfounded in the logic of the situation, is rarely absent.

Hence it must cause the liveliest satisfaction to know that the late Dom John Chapman had dedicated many years of research to this now important issue. It may be doubted if there was a more qualified critic in his generation, as those who know his writings will admit. For to a profound knowledge of sources he united great originality and independence of judgment, and, above all, a robust common sense which placed him in a category apart. We cannot, then, be too grateful to the editor, Mgr. J. M. T. Barton, who has taken the not quite finished manuscripts and worked them up into this really precious volume.

It is obviously impossible to enter into a detailed examination of the contents. I must content myself with giving Dom Chapman's conclusions. He rejects not only what is known as the Two Document Theory but also Canon Streeter's Four Document Hypothesis and the Theory of Successive Dependence in its more popular form. His own solution is best seen in the appended diagram:



The proofs are necessarily technical and involved. They cannot be examined here. It is a more than modest claim to make that the conclusion is as well established—to say the very least—as any other reconstruction yet suggested. And it has the further advantage of

tallying, in a remarkable way, with the external evidence for these three works. It thus reinforces the lesson taught already by the whole history of New Testament criticism, which is this: early ecclesiastical tradition has been accurate and is proved by every new test as by every new discovery to be trustworthy.

Very refreshing is our author's treatment of Q. We were always given to understand that this rather cryptic symbol stood for the first letter of the German word "Quelle" = source. But a footnote on p. XIX tells us that Dean Armitage Robinson claimed to have first employed it—and for no more recondite reason than that it followed P in the alphabet! It has certainly been a "source" of much confusion and an excuse for much spilling of ink, but hardly a source in any other sense at all. Perhaps we may let it stand for Query or Question-mark until it passes to the crowded museum of "Higher Criticism" curiosities. After a searching analysis of the evidence, here is what the learned Benedictine says about it: "Thus Q is as paradoxical, as elusive, as undefined as it is heterogeneous. Consequently its loyal supporters have confessedly failed to discover its characteristics . . . It is admitted that Q has no style, no vocabulary, no characteristics. And no wonder!" (p. 98).

Dom Chapman has so effectively shaken up the poor skeleton that the bones no longer hold together. It, and with it the *Ur-Matthaeus*, follow the *Ur-Markus* to the ossuary. We are left with Matthew, just the Matthew we knew, who according to the writer is the earliest of the evangelists and, after the Aramaic Catechesis, our most primitive source. Very ingenious also, and yet quite convincing, is the deduction he draws (p. 255) from ch. 27 v. 7 that Matthew *must* have been written before the siege of Jerusalem 68-70 A.D., a conclusion which places many even recent critics in a grave dilemma.

To say Dom Chapman has silenced criticism would be to misunderstand the critics. But he has certainly made it a little more difficult for them to let their imagination run wild and call it science, or, in German, *Wissenschaft*, which sounds impressive and is used to inhibit the exercise of our own critical faculties. P. J. GANNON

Archaeology

LA RESURRECTION DES VILLES MORTES. Par Marcel Brion. Paris: Payot. 1938. 32 fr.

THIS is the second volume of a work whose first part has already been reviewed in these pages.[1] The earlier volume dealt with recent discoveries in countries more familiar to the ordinary Irish or English archaeologist, countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, about

[1] *Studies* for December 1937, p. 669.

which indeed even the general reader knows something if only because of Tutankhamen and Sir Leonard Woolley. In the present work M. Brion has to cover a far wider field, ranging from China through South Africa to the lands of the Incas and the Maya. As before, he deals almost entirely with the discoveries of the past ten years or so. It is this up-to-dateness that constitutes one of the most valuable features of his work, because it is exceedingly rare to find so much heterogeneous knowledge united in a treatise other than an encyclopaedia. As before also, we have to regret the absence of both maps and illustrations, which might indeed have added to the cost of the book, but would certainly have made it more profitable as well as easier to study.

The industry and intelligence that have gone to the making of this book are worthy of the highest praise. Written for the general public by one who is not himself a professional, it is at all times clear, concise, and interesting, and seldom, if ever, approaches the danger of becoming a mere catalogue, to which such books are very readily exposed. Only those who have followed carefully the latest events in these distant archaeological areas will have little or nothing to learn from it. As in the Near East, so in China, Central Asia, and America, the last few years have seen very rapid progress in exploration and discovery. In China, for instance, the work of Andersson and others in Kansu and Honan has revealed a widespread neolithic culture of high quality, whose pottery, in certain of its phases, shows a strange resemblance to that of the early Aegean. There is evidence that this culture was only the eastern branch of a vast peasant civilisation, which radiated in all directions from somewhere in Turkestan. At a later stage, new light has been thrown on the first dynasties of China, long supposed to be purely mythological. The ruins of Ngan-Yang " the Great City of Chang," excavated since 1928, have made real the fabulous stories of the Chang or Yin Dynasty, enabled it to be assigned to a period in the second half of the second millennium B.C. and shown that the equally dimly-known Chou Dynasty which followed it represented a barbarian conquest. It is of absorbing interest to observe how many of the most peculiar characteristics of present-day China go back to this remote origin.

From China M. Brion comes west to the Indus Valley, where a great deal of new knowledge has been gained since the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in 1923. These sites themselves, with their wide streets, elaborate water-supplies, and drainage systems surpassing anything known in ancient times in the west, have been fully explored, and others, notably Chanhu-daro, Janghar, and Jukar, have been partly excavated. Connections have been clearly established between this Indus culture and that of the Sumerians, while it looks as if it had also extended eastward and southward towards the Ganges

valley, and there are remarkable analogies between the cults of Bronze Age Sind and those of present-day India, notably in the case of Siva and Lakshmi. M. Brion has an unfailing eye for the picturesque, and does not omit to mention the discovery, at Chanhu-daro, of the first lipstick known to history—if " history " is the word.

The wonders of medieval Turkestan exceed, if possible, in interest those of Bronze Age China and India. The extraordinary discoveries of Stein, Grünwedel, von Le Coq, and others have been paralleled in recent years by those of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan and further north. In this strange meeting-place of Manichean, Buddhist, and Mohammedan influences a whole new and gorgeous world, in which Greek art met and fructified that of the Far East, has come to light. From Turkestan we move to Indo-China, where recent work has also shown a great mixture of cultures, and demonstrated the fact that Angkor only represents a late phase of Khmer art. In chapter V we get an account of Miss Caton-Thompson's explorations at the mysterious city of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, whose origin is still largely a matter of conjecture. Here it is remarkable that M. Brion does not mention the demonstration, by Mdlle. L. Homburger in 1929, of the kinship between the ancient language of Egypt and modern Bantu. From chapters VI to IX we are in America, moving south from the Pueblos of New Mexico to the Incas of Peru. By far the most impressive thing in this part of the book is its record of the immense strides recently made by the Mexican Archaeological Service. M. Brion gives a striking picture of Toltec and Aztec paganism, but is it not rather absurd to say that a Mexican pyramid was " desecrated " because the Spaniards built a church on its summit ?

M. T.

Biography

SA SAINTETE PIE XI. Par Mgr. R. Fontenelle, Chanoine de Saint-Pierre. 2nd ed. Paris : Spes. 1938. 20 fr.

POPE PIUS XI. By Philip Hughes. London : Sheed and Ward. 1937. 8s. 6d.

POPE PIUS XI AND WORLD PEACE, An Authentic Biography. By Lord Clonmore. London : Robert Hale. 1937. 12s. 6d.

THERE is no greater proof of the dominating position occupied by the Papacy in the world to-day than the spate of full-length biographies of the reigning Pontiff which continue to appear in all languages. But this unceasing evidence of universal interest is a tribute not merely to the office but to its present holder. Pius XI is regarded by admirers and opponents alike as one of the outstanding personalities of our time. The remarkable variety of his interests in religious and secular fields has created a bond between him and all sorts and conditions of men : social reformers, internationalists, missionaries, scholars,

scientists—even hikers—are all entitled to claim him as *their* Pope. Accordingly any new life of him is assured of a wide public.

The three works before us have all appeared within a year, and yet none of them can be dismissed as superfluous. Mgr. Fontenelle, Canon of St. Peter's and Vatican correspondent of *La Croix*, has the special qualifications of the man on the spot. While his account of the earlier career of Pius XI necessarily borrows from previous Italian biographers, he writes of the Pontificate with all the authority of a first-hand (and first-class) observer of the Roman scene. No more reliable and intimate account of the Pope's activities in all departments has yet appeared. Mgr. Fontenelle's luminous style makes it a pleasure to read his book, even though his enthusiastic admiration for its subject is at times rather cloying. Fr. Philip Hughes writes more soberly and with less exuberance, as one might expect from an Englishman and a scholar. He has read widely on the subject and possesses the enviable faculty of condensing his sources without sacrificing their essential content. Lord Clonmore's book seems to me, despite the high praise lavished on it in Cardinal Hinsley's introduction, to be the weakest of the three. It gives some valuable information, and perhaps its breezy style may appeal to readers who have neither the time nor the temperament to appreciate the distinguished writing of Fr. Hughes. But the author's humour is hardly graceful; his taste in modern slang—*e.g.*, " all my eye and Betty Martin " (p. 164)—is not impressive; and his strictures on those whose political views do not coincide with his own, notably Mr. Eden, are usually irrelevant and sometimes unfair.

It would be impossible to discuss the various departments of papal activity dealt with in these books, but the three of them together form a useful compendium of the life and labours of Pius XI. In many respects they are complementary. Thus the relations between France and the Vatican, culminating in the condemnation of the *Action Française*, are described in special detail by Mgr. Fontenelle, who also gives an exhaustive account of the Lateran pacts and the subsequent dispute with the Italian government over the *Azione Cattolica*. Father Hughes concentrates more on the religious and social teaching formulated in the great Encyclicals, on the expansion of the foreign missions, and on the Pope's active furtherance of all branches of study, secular and ecclesiastical. The full story of the Malines conversations and the Vatican's attitude towards them is told by Lord Clonmore, and it must be said that he shows far wider sympathy here than in his treatment of political questions. Why do so many English (and Irish) Catholics think it necessary to be pro-Italian (or rather pro-Mussolini) in order to show their loyalty to the Church? There could be no more dangerous illusion. The Pope himself has frequently stressed the many unchristian implications of the Fascist *Weltanschauung*, and

while the Dictator shows favour to "the religion of the Italians," his reasons for favouring it (of which, to do him justice, he has never made any secret) are "of the earth earthy," and the political philosophy of his *Scritti e Discorsi* shows a truly Machiaevellian disregard of the claims of the supernatural in the lives of men and nations. The fact that the Pope was not prepared to reverse the traditional policy of the Vatican by condemning the Abyssinian war *in specie* most certainly does not impose on Catholics the duty of seeking to make out a case for Italy. Indeed the self-appointed apologists of Italian aggression among the Catholic publicists of these islands are almost as ridiculous as and in the long run more harmful than those Anglican prelates who have been shedding so many crocodile tears over the Vatican's "weakness and treachery."

It is perhaps inevitable that all the writers under review, while paying high and deserved tribute to the great qualities of Pius XI, should fight shy of any attempt at an objective analysis of his character and personality. He is still too near us, too much in the foreground of the picture, to permit of our viewing him in just perspective. That will be the task of his biographers fifty years hence. In the meantime it would be well to avoid exaggerations, which can only serve to obscure the real greatness of the man. Mgr. Fontenelle and to a less extent Father Hughes seem to me to claim an undue pre-eminence for him as a scholar. All the historical and palaeographical articles of the former Mgr. Ratti which I have read give evidence of sound and painstaking rather than brilliant scholarship. His predecessor in the Vatican Library, Cardinal Ehrle, and his successor in the Ambrosiana, Mgr. Galbiati (to whose reputation as a Latinist *The Times* has recently borne graceful testimony) are both more eminent in the history of librarianship: on the other hand, one may say with certainty that neither of them would have been anything like as great a Pope. The truth is that Pius XI has always been the kind of man who could be trusted to perform competently any task which might be assigned to him, but his real temperament would seem to be that of the administrator rather than the scholar. To call him, as Father Hughes does, "the most cultured Pope since Nicholas V" is from every point of view unfair to the memory of the great Pontiff in whose footsteps he has been proud to continue, Leo XIII. D. A. B.

LA PERSONNALITE LITTERAIRE DE NEWMAN. Par Fernande Tardival. Paris: Beauchesne. 1937. 48 fr.

THIS book of over four hundred pages is a testimony to the abiding interest Newman awakes. More than any one of his great contempories—Ruskin, Tennyson, Carlyle, M. Arnold—he is studied not merely for his thought but also for his art. Mlle. Tardival's book has

a worthy place in a line of French studies on Newman ; and it will be numbered with the works of Bremond, Dimnet and Cazamian in any satisfactory bibliography. It is an admirable example of French thoroughness, clarity and fine literary sense. It is based on a full and easy familiarity with Newman's writings. It is an enthusiastic yet critical study.

Perhaps the first impression it will leave on the reader is that of Newman's versatility. He had a greater range of gifts than is usually realised : in any one of half a dozen lines—for instance as essayist, preacher, historian, journalist, controversialist, poet—he has shown the highest gifts. His work is not at all as uniform in subject as is usually thought. Mlle. Tardival is primarily interested in Newman as a man of letters. She has indicated the chief influences that went to the forming of Newman's thought and style. Then she reviews rapidly the chief literary forms in which Newman worked ; and has a long fairly close analysis of the elements of his style. Anyone who appreciates the work and art of Newman will read with pleasure this capable, judicious study.

Most of the qualities of that marvellous style which has kept fresh the theology, sermons and controversy of a hundred years ago, can be traced back to a triple strand or element in his formation—the classical strand, the religious, the psychological. His lucidity and balance, his high earnestness, his unfailing sense of human realities, his concern with the abiding interests of man, these are the chief springs of his marvellous literary art. They help to explain something of that miracle of prose which is lucid, infinitely supple, as clear and elastic as the air, without mannerism, of a texture that is at once rich and fine—in a word, a prose which is as unmistakable and perfect as that of any other English writer. H. K.

THEODORA, IMPERATRICE DE BYZANCE. Par Charles Diehl. Paris : Boccard. 1937. 15 francs.

Readers of Mr. Robert Graves who also read French will be glad to have their attention drawn to this very welcome little reprint. It is really the third edition of a work produced so long ago as 1904, just after the great *Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine* (1901) which established its author as the leading modern authority on his period. The first edition was sumptuously illustrated ; the third is ornamented by a copy on the cover of the head of Theodora from the Ravenna mosaic, which gives only the barest idea of its original, and it is otherwise very cheaply produced in a form convenient for the pocket. It is rather a pity that no indication is given of the fact that it dates from so long ago as 1904.

This, however, is of no consequence to the general reader to whom

the book is addressed. M. Diehl is not only the *doyen* of Byzantinists but a writer of quite remarkable skill and power. His brief chapters make the stirring events, intrigues, passions and ambitions of the sixth century live again ; nothing could be better, for example, than his account of the Nika riots or of the career of that extraordinary man, John the Cappadocian. Naturally everything is seen from the standpoint of Theodora ; her enigmatic husband, strangely weak for all his overwhelming pride and ambition, is here only her foil. In recounting the life of the actress-Empress, M. Diehl is clearly torn between his conscience as a critical historian and the demands of a public which now, as in the days of Procopius, prefers sensation to truth. He knows that very little credence is to be attached to the often absurd anecdotes with which Justinian's panegyrist liberated his pent-up spite, and that Theodora's career was probably far from being as lurid before she met and captivated Justinian as Procopius insists. He even points out that her conversion, which was sincere, had taken place before she knew the heir to the Empire. Yet he repeats many of Procopius's stories, only weakening whatever claim to belief they might have possessed by his vivid picture of the gossips of Constantinople. Because his information is so full, his critical faculty so acute, and his tact in holding the balance between romance and truth so fine, he gives us a portrait of the Empress and her time which rivals, if it does not surpass, the highest flights of the imaginative artist. Many dramatists and novelists, from Sardou to Graves, have been fascinated by this story, but it is safe to say that none of them has told it, in whatever medium, so satisfactorily as M. Diehl. M. T.

ANNE COMNENE : Alexiade. Tome I (Livres I-IV). Texte établi et traduit par Bernard Leib. (Association Guillaume Budé). Paris : Les Belles Lettres. 1937. 75 fr.

FATHER BERNARD LEIB, S.J., has been for some years Professor at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome ; and this first instalment of his edition of Anna Comnena's history of the reign of her father, Alexius Comnenus, has been produced thanks to a double grant, from His Holiness Pope Pius XI and from the French Academy of Belles Lettres. Like all the other volumes in the *Collection Guillaume Budé*, the Greek text is confronted, page by page, with an admirable French translation ; and Father Leib has based his critical edition on a careful examination of the various extant manuscripts. Like all previous editors, he has had to rely for the main body of the text on two early manuscripts : the *Florentinus* 70. 2, which was first used by Reifferscheid in his continuation of the Bonn edition (1878) and in his own complete text (Teubner, 1884) ; and the *Coislinianus* 311 of the Paris Library, which was for long considered the sole authentic

text. But both these manuscripts lack Anna Comnena's preface, which has been preserved in an early epitome of her work. Father Leib has had the good fortune to discover, in *Vaticanus Graecus* 981, a text of this epitome which fills several lacunae in the other extant texts. His edition of the preface is thus an improvement on any previous edition. For the main body of the text he follows the Florentine manuscript, but constantly correcting it from *Coislinianus*.

For the general reader, the most welcome portion of this volume will be Father Leib's long and very valuable introduction on the life and work of Anna Comnena. Having sketched the biography of the Princess, he gives a very full account of Byzantine life and thought in the age of the first Crusade—an account which he bases on a very detailed analysis of the fifteen books of the *Alexiad*. English readers have the advantage of Mr. Buckler's excellent volume, *Anna Comnena* (London, 1929), which gives them the same information at even greater length. But Father Leib writes with the true Frenchman's ease and grace; and those who have read Mr. Buckler's volume will not regret a comparison between the two essays. In particular, we commend Father Leib's essay on Anna's literary style and the character of her work. His account of Byzantine life begins with a description of the Greek army and navy, then describes briefly the wars of Alexius, and finally gives an admirable summary of Byzantine social and religious life. We congratulate the author on his achievement, and trust that he will soon give us the text of the remaining ten books of Anna's work. A. G.

Classics

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE FROM HOMER TO ARISTOTLE. By Robert J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith. Vol. 2. U.S.A.: Univ. of Chicago Press. Great Britain: Cambridge Univ. Press. 1938. 16s. net.

THE appearance of this volume completes, as far as Attic law is concerned, a work which should prove of immense utility both to Greek scholars and to all those interested in legal history. In the first volume, the learned authors dealt with the growth of the judiciary. In this they discuss in great detail—and, it must be said, with a certain amount of repetition—matters of Athenian legal practice and procedure. Nine of their eleven chapters are devoted to broad aspects of their subject under the headings: Litigants, Sycophants, Special Pleas, Arbitration, Witnesses, Oaths, Homicide, Appeals, Pardons, and New Trials, and Execution of Judgments. In addition to these there is a very brief introduction on the origin of various pleas, and an interesting final chapter in which the good and bad points of Athenian justice are summed up in the light of ancient and modern criticisms.

It has clearly not been the intention of the authors to write an

exhaustive systematic treatise on Athenian Law; as they themselves remark in their preface, their choice of topics has been more or less arbitrary. They have set themselves rather to bring together the results of research since the appearance of the last part of Lipsius's great work, *Das Attische Recht, in* 1915. In a sense it is rather a pity that their object has been so limited, for a comprehensive treatise is badly needed in English. In an American publication, one is a little surprised at the slackness of the bibliographical methods employed; there is no general list of works cited, and the reader is too frequently hampered by the repetition of the formula *op. cit.* These, however, are only the sort of complaints aroused by something short of a perfection which is perhaps unattainable. The subjects treated are in general remarkably interesting, their treatment profound, searching, and judicial, while at the same time the book is intensely readable. The command shown by its authors over the very profuse ancient literature is only equalled by their mastery of the results of modern scholarship. Misprints and oversights are surprisingly rare in such a work; the only distressing instances I can find are *κλωπῆς* twice (pp. 35 and 257), *μάρτυρ* on p. 183, and Megarian *Degrees* in a note on p. 45.

Recent research work on Greek law has been intensive, especially in America, and some of its conclusions have fairly revolutionised old notions. Perhaps this is most evident in the chapter on Execution of Judgments, where, following a recent monograph by Barkan, it is shown conclusively that imprisonment as a penalty was quite common in Athens, and where full use is made of Keramopoullos' fifteen-years old discoveries in regard to the form of execution known as *apotympanismos*. Professors Bonner and Smith accept the view that this was a kind of crucifixion, usually without nails, in which the criminal was perhaps choked to death by the pressure of an iron ring on his neck. Incidentally they seem to be too optimistic about the charge of Douris the Samian against Pericles (p. 281). They interpret the *sanides* mentioned by Plutarch as probably meaning the stocks; but the word elsewhere is always in this connexion a synonym for the *tympanon* upon which malefactors and traitors were crucified. Another interesting conclusion is to the effect that execution by hemlock was introduced perhaps by the "Thirty" in 404–3; previously the more barbarous and cruel method of crucifixion was regular.

There is only space to refer briefly to the many matters of less general interest dealt with in the book. The authors decide against the arguments of Pischinger and others that arbitration-cases did not come before the archons, against Leisi that slave-witnesses were always tortured (though it would appear that actual cases were rare), and against Wilamowitz as to the existence of appeal in Attic law. The

whole treatment of arbitration, sycophants, and witnesses is full of very valuable discussions, but perhaps that of homicide is on the whole the best chapter in the book, with its insistence on the permanence of the idea of retribution and the comparatively minor importance, as far as legal practice was concerned, of purification. The Athenians claimed to be far ahead of other Greeks in matters of law, but their system was an exceedingly peculiar one. As is here well explained, it relied much less on evidence than on pleading, and thus developed the overbalance of rhetoric which we find rather repellent. Its very democratic procedure, again, goes far beyond anything we are accustomed to; but it was accompanied by a complicated series of checks and safeguards which must have made life in Athens a perilous affair, not merely for Nicias, of whom we are told that he spent as much money on his blackmailers as on his supporters. On the other hand it had the advantages of cheapness and of encouraging public spirit, and in its emphasis on arbitration in civil cases was in advance of modern systems. This is a book to be warmly recommended.

M. T.

Education

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE JESUITS IN NEW SPAIN, 1570–1600. By J. V. Jacobsen, S.J. Berkeley: University of California Press. London: Cambridge University Press. 1938. Pp. 304. 13s. 6d. net.

This important pioneer survey, done by one of his research students, is presented in his Editor's Preface by Professor Herbert E. Bolton. It is a great pleasure, auspicious of great work to be both rapidly and scientifically executed, to learn from him that this is the first volume of a full series, to extend over a period of academic action of more than two centuries, 1572–1767.

Dr. Jacobsen's survey of the opening generation of workers in the schools of the Latin tradition, operative in the Mexican region, will be found to be of marked interest, most of all to the considerable number of American writers on education who have not yet realised how amply the belated origins of schools in North America were anticipated and far surpassed in scope and results, not only in the French colony of Canada but even more strikingly by the Spanish Jesuits, over half a century before. Many of these American teachers of the Liberal Arts and Sciences had been in direct relations with the Italian and Spanish colleges of the Jesuit new departure in large secondary schools launched between 1548 and 1556; some thirty such colleges were at work before the death of their Founder in this latter year.

Dr. Jacobsen has made marked use, for these initial years, of all

the new documentary material put into print since 1900, and he rightly gives special importance to the chief draft of the future Code of Studies worked out very fully by Ledesma, the Spanish Dean of Studies at the principal collegiate position, the Roman College of the Order. On some few details and inferences the views here expressed may need qualification. Thus the suggestion that the first Jesuit school organisers in Mexico, 1570–1575 (page 123), were influenced to any marked extent by the boarding-school system that they knew in Spain, is subject to the reservation that of all the Jesuit Colleges (over 600 by 1767) very few indeed had boarding houses attached to them, and that of the 130 Jesuit Colleges in Spain at that late date not one had a single pupil who was a boarder.

The work of the University of California on this opening volume is excellently done, save perhaps in the minute numbering of its many footnotes. A map of school positions would be a very useful addition in the eyes of European students. T. C.

History

THE DISSIDENT EASTERN CHURCHES. By Donald Attwater. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1937. $3.50.

THE GOLDEN BOOK OF EASTERN SAINTS. By Donald Attwater. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1938. $2.25.

MR. ATTWATER has followed up his very successful *Catholic Eastern Churches*, already reviewed in these pages, with two most valuable works in the same "Religion and Culture" series. The three works together make a little library of Oriental Christianity, containing a huge amount of information on a moving and enthralling subject. They are well illustrated, the photographs of Orthodox and other Oriental dignitaries in the first book listed above being especially striking; they have full bibliographies, and are in every way calculated not only to arouse the interest and sympathy of the reader but to open for him a whole field of knowledge which it is highly desirable should be within reach of as many Catholics as possible. As Mr. Attwater points out, in the way of work towards the corporate reunion of the Church little except understanding and prayer is open to the faithful in England or Ireland. In America, where there are now considerable Orthodox groups—the Russians number over half a million, the Greeks over 250,000, and there are many others of every branch of Oriental Christianity—the situation is entirely different; and as important Orthodox leaders have worked for years in the United States, the possibilities arising from knowledge and sympathy with them on the part of Catholics are by no means negligible.

Even in these countries great good can come from the widespread

study of books like those of Mr. Attwater. Few even among the most educated have any real knowledge of the separated Eastern Churches, and their story makes both engrossing and, for all its vicissitudes, edifying reading. It is not generally appreciated, for example, that Catholics are bound to ask for absolution and receive Viaticum from an available Orthodox priest if in danger of death when no Catholic priest is at hand, nor that they are entitled " to enter a dissident Eastern church out of service time to pray privately before the Blessed Sacrament and the holy images." Mr. Attwater strongly warns his readers against the common thoughtless habit of looking upon dissident orientals as personally schismatics or heretics. Schism and heresy are personal acts which presuppose knowledge and deliberation. The Orthodox in particular, being in good faith, belong to the Church in an imperfect but very special sense, since they possess the Sacraments. Indeed, as Mr. Attwater shows, the heretical character of the present-day Nestorian and Monophysite Churches is often a matter of extreme doubt. In some cases too, as for instance that of the Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch, there has been much historical confusion between patriarchs in communion with and in schism from Rome.

After a brief historical introduction Mr. Attwater devotes ten of his chapters to Orthodox Christianity, that is to say those Churches which accepted the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon in 431 and 451, but followed the patriarchs of Constantinople in the schisms of the ninth and eleventh centuries. In regard to these latter, it is noteworthy that recent work by Catholic scholars has made it very doubtful whether Photius was strictly speaking a schismatic at all, and of course the second schism was temporarily healed by the Council of Florence in 1439, so that the last heroic Emperor of Constantinople died in full communion with Rome. It was really the Turkish conquest that perpetuated a breach which originated in local jealousies and might easily have been ended in happier circumstances. The other great patriarchates—Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—followed the lead of Constantinople almost automatically, as did the newer patriarchates of Moscow, Serbia, and Rumania and the other " autocephalous " churches. The present divisions are largely a matter of misunderstanding and prejudice, hardened by centuries of separation and of course often aggravated by politics.

Mr. Attwater devotes a brief chapter to each separate Church, giving an account of its history, organisation and present state, with special emphasis on numbers, education, liturgy, and religious position of the faithful. Much in these chapters makes sad reading, notably the decay of the great patriarchate at Constantinople, the inroads of Western evils, such as Freemasonry, among the higher clergy in certain centres, and of course the fearful calamities that have befallen

the 120 million Orthodox of Russia. But there is also a good deal that is encouraging; in countries like Rumania and Serbia education is being rapidly improved, and though hostility to Rome is strong particularly in Serbia, there are evidences of better prospects in the future. There are special chapters on the faith of the Orthodox, their rites, and their ancient monastical system, so different from the same system as developed in the West. A single chapter suffices for the once powerful Nestorian Church, whose missionary activities in further Asia during the early middle ages have never been surpassed. Then come three chapters on the Monophysite Churches, Coptic, Jacobite, and Armenian, with their various subdivisions, among them that of Ethiopia, of which so much has recently been heard. Mr. Attwater writes throughout in a straightforward, simple style and with a sympathy for his subject which makes his book peculiarly attractive. It concludes with a brief discussion of the question of reunion, emphasising most fittingly the great work accomplished by the present Holy Father.

The Golden Book of Eastern Saints is a smaller pendant to Mr. Attwater's two other works, but is of even more unusual interest. Only in its first chapter, which deals with St. Basil, are we on familiar ground. The other Saints whose lives are here simply told are largely unknown to Western readers. They include such remarkable men as St. Theodore of Studion, St. Athanasius the Athonite, St. Neilos the founder of Grottaferrata, St. Sava Nemanya, apostle of Serbia, and the Venerable Mekhitar, whose monastery of San Lazzaro at Venice, founded in 1707, is the great centre for printing Armenian literature. Their lives and those of the other holy men, some of whom belonged to the last century or so, make fascinating reading and will bring home to those who are fortunate enough to acquire this book, almost more clearly even than Mr. Attwater's other work, the truly marvellous variety in circumstance, but sameness in heroic virtue, of the Church in Eastern lands. M. T.

1745 AND AFTER. By Alistair Tayler and Henrietta Tayler. London: Nelson. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

DURING the European War of twenty years ago the decision of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission to discontinue, for reasons of economy, the further publication of the Stuart manuscripts stored at Windsor Castle came as a disappointment to many. The seven stout volumes, which had by then appeared, are rich in material for all, and particularly for Irish, students of Jacobitism. Across almost every page flit figures of our countrymen and countrywomen—wandering soldiers, their swords for sale, penniless nobles who had lost everything for the Stuart cause, homeless priests and nuns and friars. Most of

the tragic and melancholy aftermath of Aughrim and Limerick is, indeed, in these pages; and in them, more than in the English state papers at London and Dublin, is much of the history of the real Ireland of the time. The documents and letters of the seventh or last published volume come down to the year 1720. Those dealing with the Rising of 1715 are accordingly included, but almost all those from 1720 onwards, including of course the material bearing on the Forty-Five, lie still untouched in Windsor Castle. The part played by Irishmen in that romantic adventure has never been fairly acknowledged by its chroniclers. All the exiled families of Ireland—Dillons, O'Briens, Lallys, Walshes, MacMahons, FitzGeralds, etc.—toiled with zeal and challenged death again and again for its success. Their full story, when it is told some day, will not be an ignoble one.

As an important contribution to that story, if for no other reason, one welcomes *1745 and After*, the latest addition to the history of Jacobitism. There was for a long time a belief, a little vague and indefinite, that there existed somewhere in the immense collection of Stuart Manuscripts at Windsor Castle a personal account of his experiences in the 1745 insurrection by a very gallant Irishman, Colonel John O'Sullivan. He was at the time the most intimate and trusted friend of Prince Charles Edward—seldom, indeed, does one meet anywhere with a more touching mutual devotion than that which existed between them. It has been left to the distinguished authors of this book (one of them, alas! died before its publication) to bring this diary to light after two hundred years and give it to the public in this volume. We have various personal records of their experiences from participants in the Forty-Five, but none of them has the naive charm and vivid power of O'Sullivan's narrative. One can see mirrored in it the personal attraction of the writer, and one can understand the deep affection entertained for him and the deep trust reposed in him by Prince Charles.

Colonel O'Sullivan has been unfairly treated by the Scottish historians of the Rising and by Sir Walter Scott in his *Waverley*. The Prince's preference for O'Sullivan and for the Irish of the insurrectionary army gave rise to an intense jealousy among the Highland leaders including Lord George Murray, the Commander-in-Chief, and led to bitter recriminations. These have coloured the views of the historians. From unprejudiced judges who knew O'Sullivan we have, however, estimates of his character which limn for us the man as he was. He was described by a famous general of the time as "understanding guerilla warfare better than any man in Europe, his knowledge of regular warfare being not much inferior to that of the best living General." Aeneas MacDonald, the Paris banker, declared that "he was a remarkable man, whether we regard him as a soldier and counsellor

or for honesty and integrity." And still another contemporary tells us that he was "one of the best-bred, genteelest, complaisant, engaging officers in all the French troops." The pitiful fact, however, was that he and Lord George Murray, both brave men, quarrelled again and again, and did considerable damage by their estrangement to the cause to which both were wholeheartedly devoted.

Colonel O'Sullivan's narrative, which makes up the bulk of *1745 and After*, traces the whole romantic adventure from day to day. One follows with tense interest his account of its beginnings in France, the perilous sea-journey to Scotland, the victories and defeats up to Culloden's fatal day, and then the weary wanderings among the wild moors and mountains of the Highlands. Over and over again it throws a new light on many important events. Regarding the decision to retreat from Derby, it has been generally believed that the Irish officers alone (with the Catholic Duke of Perth) supported the Prince in his insistence on continuing the march to London. O'Sullivan's narrative does not seem to bear this out. "The Chiefs and others," he writes, "were the most part of them for the retraite, and really according to all the rules of War and prudence, it was the only part to be taken." We learn, too, that, having parted from the Prince after sharing the perils and sufferings of outlawry for months, the Irish officer escaped to France and went straight to Versailles. There he informed the French king of the Prince's perilous position. As a result, several frigates were fitted out at once, which under command of the gallant Irish soldier, Colonel Warren, braved overwhelming dangers, landed in Scotland and bore Charles Edward safely back to France.

The last pages of the book give a number of letters written by O'Sullivan in France during the years that followed the failure of the Rising. They were years of disillusionment, marked by discord and bitter quarrels among the remnant of the Jacobite leaders. The Prince, too, had begun a career of dissipation and vagabondage throughout Europe, and his most loyal adherents began to desert him one by one. But, loyal through all vicissitudes, O'Sullivan clung to him with all the affection of their early friendship.

This fascinating book is a valuable contribution to the literature of Jacobitism. It seems petty to find fault with it in any respect, but one would expect in the introduction a somewhat fuller account by the authors of the career of Colonel O'Sullivan. On the other hand, the present reviewer should perhaps say that he has been trying, with but partial success, for some years to obtain some new facts regarding this distinguished Irish soldier and knight-errant, while the authors, too, state that they made "an intensive search in the military records at Paris for fuller details regarding him." But the stock from which

he sprung might have been added to their account of him by the authors. His mother was a daughter of Dermot MacCarthy Mor and Ellen MacCarthy Reagh of Carbery, while his father was Dermod O'Sullivan, eldest son of Donal O'Sullivan, Lord of Dunkerron. R. H.

CROSS AND SWASTIKA. The Ordeal of the German Church. By Dr. Arthur Frey. London: Student Christian Movement Press. 1938. 6s.

This book, with its slogan-like title, is a translation of Dr. Frey's work: "The Struggle of the Evangelical Church in Germany and its Universal Significance," published in Switzerland by the Evangelical Bookshop Zollikon. The author is a man of middle age, an economist and a business man, not a professional theologian. He is a "lay apostle," pleading for the integrity of the Gospel and for the liberty of the Church over against the encroachments of the State, even though that State may mask itself under the features of the new god, the "Folk."

Dr. Frey in this work covers much the same ground as the Dean of Chichester does in the first half of his book "The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany," though the atmosphere evoked is not quite the same. The leitmotif with Dr. Frey is "other-worldiness"; renewal not in or through any human power but through God alone. It is the thread that runs through not only the brief survey of the history of German thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but also through the account of National Socialism with its pagan implications and of the sufferings and activities of Church groups since 1933.

Though Dr. Frey's sole concern is with the Church of which he is a member, his book has an interest transcending that of any one group. It is a protest in the name of Christianity against the philosophy of life—"the world view," as he calls it—preached and inculcated by National Socialism. It insists, what the Catholic Bishops of Germany had already formally insisted on in 1930, that the tenets of National Socialism are inconsistent with the Gospel of Christ and that the issues at stake in this struggle are nothing less than the root principles of Christianity. It is an excellent thing for all believing Christians that such books should be written, and it would be well that they should be widely read. "Cross and Swastika" is a striking demonstration of the falseness of the German Government's line of attack when it accuses not only the Catholic Church but the "protesting churches" also of being political in their opposition to the encroachments of the State. This fight is being fought for the integrity of the Gospel and the maintenance of its teaching.

It is the double misfortune of the Protestant Church in Germany to have been weakened internally by Rationalism and Nationalism

in the past and to present at this critical juncture a divided front to the enemy. Dr. Frey shows the disaster that is implied in the German Christian movement, the moderate section of which seeks a synthesis of Christianity and National Socialism, whilst the extreme section is prepared, if not to jettison its creed, at least to review the content of that creed in the light of the Rosenberg gospel of German Blood, German Soil and German Honour. He shows also—and that is what gives him and the world hope—the heroic stand that is being made by the "Confessional" Church against not only the government representatives, Bishop Müller and Dr. Kerrl, but against its own "incorporated" brethren and their "Committees." That Church already has its martyrs, and martyrs are dangerous for any government, even when it has the Sanction of Blood and Soil.

The preface to the book is by the famous German Protestant theologian, Dr. Karl Barth. He is, more than any one else, responsible for the new spirit that has begun to inform German Protestantism and has shown itself in the Confessional Church. His preface is worth reading for itself alone. MARY M. MACKEN

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. From the German of Ludwig von Pastor. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Vols. XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX. London: Kegan Paul. 1938. 15s. each.

THE first of these three volumes is devoted to the short pontificate (1621–1623) of Gregory XV, whose government of the Church is chiefly memorable for the erection of Propaganda and the active development of the Church's missionary activity. It is the age, too, of the great Cardinal Ludovisi, whose name is still a household word to all who love the art of the Renaissance; and Pastor has done well to preface this volume with a short sketch of the progress made by the Renaissance during the century that lies between the election of Paul III and the death of Urban VIII—a century of astounding vitality and creative genius. It was an age that was not afraid to smash and pull down: *quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini.*

The second volume opens with the conclave of 1623, which ended in the election of Cardinal Barberini, who took the name of Urban VIII. To most of us that name suggests legislation about the canonisation of saints and over-elaborate pseudoclassical hymns in the Roman breviary. These two volumes, which are filled with the doings of his important pontificate (1623–1644), are a reminder of Urban's work on a wider field. In the first volume Richelieu is the dominating figure; and Pastor, always a sharp critic of any modern Caesaro-Papalism, judges the great French cardinal severely. Indeed it is hard to escape from his conclusion that few statesmen are more to

blame than he for the curse of modern nationalism, and the failure of the older Catholic polity.

In the last volume of this series Pastor tells the story of Urban's work for the internal life of the Church : his generous support of the newly founded Propaganda, his patronage of literature and art, his attitude towards the beginnings of Jansenism, and the oft-told tale of Galileo and the Inquisition. A. G.

DUBLIN OLD AND NEW. By Stephen Gwynn. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. pp. xii+239. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

It has been said that some cities possess, in more than an imaginary sense, a soul of their own, made for them by the people who have made in them their dwelling places. Dublin is certainly one of these cities ; and unless the writer of its story can make that soul felt in his pages, his book can have no interest beyond that of a sightseer's handbook.

Mr. Gwynn modestly claims for his attractive study of Dublin nothing more than that it is a guide-book to the capital of Ireland. It is something more than that, for its writer possesses in no small measure the evocative skill referred to, without which the things that give Dublin its real interest cannot be brought out. For it must be admitted that our capital, apart from its soul, is a somewhat dingy and unattractive city.

Architecturally Dublin does not offer much scope to its historian. Its best known assets in this respect are its much vaunted Georgian mansions, of which Mr. Gwynn very fairly says that they do not stimulate the imagination. However interesting they may be to the student of architectural styles, they have nothing in them that can be said to be distinctive of the people in whose capital they were built. They were erected when the city was a stronghold of the stranger, whose characteristics they symbolise even in their present decayed and tarnished splendour.

Apart from its buildings, Dublin is a meeting place of associations and memories, and it is these rather than its size or its commercial or governmental activities that make it the capital of Ireland. This the city has been all through the long and chequered span of its history, for even when the stranger held it most strongly it was the centre from which resistance to him in many forms radiated to the whole country outside.

It is on this side of Dublin's story that books such as Mr. Gwynn's should lay stress ; and to a certain extent, particularly in these parts that deal with the new Dublin, this is done in this book. But one feels that much more might have been done in this direction. Perhaps Mr. Gwynn was influenced by the only book his preface cites as an

authority, Mr. Chart's *Dublin* in Dent's fascinating series *Mediaeval Towns* : unfortunately Mr. Chart's book, despite its merits, shows but little sympathy with the people or places that were connected with the real soul of the city.

Mr. Gwynn keeps, in this respect, too close to his model. Hence in those of his pages that deal with the old Dublin one finds but scant allusion to either people or places much more vital to the Ireland of which Dublin is and was the capital, than are those—stock figures, for the most part, in such books—whose sayings and doings he chronicles. I venture to think that some of the space devoted to Dean Swift—about whom nothing new can now well be said—might have been profitably spared for some mention of such men as Fr. John Austin, S.J., or Fr. Betagh, S.J., his younger colleague, who after a laborious life of almost fifty years in Dublin died in 1813. The streets wherein such men dwelt and worked merit the tribute of a passing mention at least. And these are but sample names from the host of these who from the Tudor times worked in obscurity in the back lanes of Dublin to preserve for it what is and has been its most distinctive possession. Surely they were more important to and more representative of the Dublin of their time and of the Dublin of our time, than were the saunterers in the cathedral closes or the posturers in the Parliament Houses. There is a " Hidden Dublin " as well as a " Hidden Ireland," and it is time that it were brought to light.

It is because I think that Mr. Gwynn could have done this that I have emphasised what seems to be a weakness in an otherwise excellent book. He has the evocative power, if he would only use it in this direction ; Dublin is the mirror of the nation's life, and a book on it, especially a new book, should deal with it from that point of view.

A word should be added on the all round excellence with which this book is produced. Old Dublin was famous for its book production—Mr. Gwynn mentions that Horace Walpole was wont to send his books there to be bound—and this book shows that the craftsmen of the old Dublin have worthy successors in the new Dublin. W. J. W.

THE AUGUSTINIANS. From St. Augustine to the Union, 1256. By V. Rev. E. A. Foran, O.S.A. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 7s. 6d.

FATHER FORAN has spent the leisure hours of many long years gleaning the materials for a history of his great order. So little has been written in English on the history of the Friars Hermits of Saint Augustine that this volume must be welcomed as filling an obvious gap in our Catholic literature : even though many who read the book will wish that the author had planned otherwise. For he has devoted the whole

of this first volume to an account of the legends (as most scholars account them) of his order prior to the formal act which united various scattered groups of hermits, mainly in Central Italy, as a new religious order with the typical privileges of the mendicant friars. Those who value medieval legends as a venerable chapter in the Catholic tradition of Europe will find here a welcome guide. Saint Augustine was very much more than a great Doctor of the Church to the Latin Middle Ages. He was the author of a rule from which (as Father Foran proudly claims) some seventy religious orders or groups of men and women have derived their rule of life. His biography, written by Possidius, was a classic of medieval asceticism; and Father Foran has done many readers a service by producing an English translation of that early "Life of a Saint." It is a pity that he has not found space also for a full English translation of Saint Augustine's Rule. In its place, he has given us an account of the order which claims Saint Augustine as its founder, quoting the text of apocryphal sermons and letters of the Saint, with no more than a word of warning that modern scholars reject them as spurious, but without any serious attempt at a criticism of these sources.

It is perhaps ungracious to fasten on small points of detail in a work that has plainly cost the author an immense deal of trouble. But Father Foran tells us that he is preparing a second volume on the history of his order in England; and a work of this kind is so badly needed that warning may be helpful. The spelling of medieval proper names is a familiar stumbling-block to all students of the Middle Ages; but the reader's bewilderment can sometimes be lessened by greater care. Almost a third of the present volume is filled with a long list of places in which "Augustinian" houses are known to have existed in the eight hundred years that lie between the death of Saint Augustine at Hippo and the Union of 1256. Father Foran's list is impressive, but some of the names which he gives are recognisable only by those who are familiar with the vagaries of medieval spelling or (worse still) with the erratic expansion of medieval contractions. Here are some obvious examples: Bononiense is given as a place name for Bologna, Urbevitanum for Orvieto, Tuscolano for Toscanella, Illiceta or Ilicetana for Lecceto near Siena, Britislaw for Bratislava (Pressburg) in Bohemia. And there are other distorted forms which the present reviewer has been unable to decipher. It is a pity that Father Foran should let his work be spoilt by such obvious blemishes; for he has much to give us. If a personal reminiscence may be permitted, the present reviewer found, when he took down a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian, that Father Foran had been before him, and had been able to tell the authorities of that great library where they could get a photograph of matter that had once been contained on the missing

first folio of their MS. The librarians of the Bodleian are punctilious in acknowledging such debts; and it is bare justice to remind the casual modern reader of the long hours and years of patient searching which have made such work possible. We trust that Father Foran will soon complete the task he has set himself. A. G.

AUSTRIA AND AFTER. By Franz Borkenau. London: Faber and Faber. 1938. 8s. 6d.

THIS is one of the most interesting and informative as well as one of the best written of the many books that have appeared on Austria in the last six months. It is apparently not a translation; we must conclude that Herr Borkenau is a cosmopolitan. His English is forcible, clear, rhythmical, full of light and colour. There is not a dull line. The annexation of Austria on the 11th March is the axis on which his book revolves. The author looks back over the centuries to explain the complex phenomenon which is Austria and forward to ruminate on the possibilities of the future in South Eastern Europe with a military power like Germany in the ascendant on its borders.

Herr Borkenau is himself an Austrian. What his political or denominational colour is I could not venture to suggest. He speaks in his brief preface of "*those of us* who are immediate victims of the change." Why should this detached and impartial observer be "a victim"? Is he non-Aryan? He is certainly not Legitimist since he had always desired the "Anschluss." Neither is he a "political Catholic" of the type that would be victimised by National Socialism. It is evident that, while he has a deep admiration for the person of Dr. von Schuschnigg, he was opposed to the régime of Dollfuss, whose policy he sharply criticises. He is not a National Socialist. Totalitarianism is not his political ideal. If one might hazard a guess, he is perhaps an international Liberal with socialist sympathies. But he is primarily a student of human society, an observer trained by the study of history and economics to draw conclusions from world events, which are never isolated but are rather so many links in an inexorable chain of cause and effect. He loves his country and her complex Mediterranean-Germanic-Slavonic civilization, "the corpse of which may easily form an insuperable barrier between Berlin and Vienna." That love does not prevent him from seeing that the Austrian Empire was doomed already in the 19th century when the question of nationalities reached the "actual" stage and that post-war Austria as an independent state was an economic impossibility. Herr Borkenau's hope was a union "by self-determination and under the aegis of the League of Nations" whilst the Weimar Republic was still functioning. He seems to suggest that such a union might have materially altered the course that Germany has since taken. But that surely is reckoning

too much without the Treaty of Versailles, the personality of Adolf Hitler and the German character.

Herr Borkenau throws many interesting lights—from within, as an Austrian—on specific Austrian phenomena—such as Austrian Jewry, Anti-Semitism, Political Catholicism, Austro-Marxism, Nationalism, and Anti-Clericalism. They constitute a part of the complexity of the problem and at the same time they help to explain something of what Herr Borkenau calls " Hitlerism " and a good deal of the annexation mystery. We do not necessarily require to agree with the author in assigning a large share in the evolution of modern German racialism to the peculiar nature of Austrian Semitism and Anti-Semitism. But the point is interesting and interestingly developed. Official Catholicism in Austria and especially the higher clergy come in for severe criticism from Herr Borkenau, though here and there he finds local circumstances which exonerate the Bishops from some of the blame of attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable in accepting National Socialism. His attack on the Austrian Episcopacy is in sharp contrast to his verdict on the Catholic Church in the Reich : " the only organisation which enables considerable masses to hold on to those moral values hitherto regarded as essential in a human life worth living."

In the conclusion, Herr Borkenau is scrupulously fair to National Socialism in its conduct of economic and administrative affairs in Austria since the take-over. He stresses the advantages all round for Austria of the industrial revival and of the dynamism which the new Germany is infusing into the task of bringing her " Eastern March " into line with a " self-sufficient " Germany. He insists on the fact that Berlin is seeing to it that there shall be no exploitation of a country or of workers with an inferior standard of living for the benefit of capitalists from the Reich. But he does not minimise the economic and it may well be even the political disadvantages to the Reich itself from shouldering the burdens of an impoverished fragment of Empire. His survey of the international possibilities arising from the annexation is interesting and even exciting. MARY M. MACKEN

HISTORY AND RELIGION. Occasional Historical Essays. By the Most Rev. Alban Goodier, S.J., Archbishop of Hierapolis. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1937. 7s. 6d.

HIGH POINTS OF MEDIAEVAL CULTURE. By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D. Milwaukee : Bruce. 1937. $2.75.

As the sub-title indicates, Archbishop Goodier's work is a collection of essays or articles written at different times and for special occasions. This fact would not of itself detract from the value of the book, provided its component chapters were of value. Indeed, on the principle that second thoughts are best, the fact might even enhance its worth. Let

us say at once that not only were the several chapters worth reprinting but that the book derives an added value from the unity of view-point indicated by the main title. Throughout, historical episodes and personages are viewed from the standpoint of religion.

In an introductory chapter the author expounds his thesis that religion is the most fundamental principle and the most vital element in history. In his own words, " the religious repercussions of history go far deeper down and have far more lasting effect for the benefit or injury of races and kingdoms, than have the antics of any political adventurer," were he an Alexander or a Napoleon, that " religion is the true key to history, if by history we mean the story of the development of mankind, " for " it is the soul of man that really matters in history and produces abiding results."

When once this point of view is understood, little remains for the reviewer but to set down the titles of the chapters. There are first four studies in early church history dealing respectively with Origen, Pelagius (two), and the Council of Ephesus. A second group of studies brings out the influence on history of the religious orders—Franciscans, Dominicans, Servites, and Vincentians. Three studies are devoted to Jesuit topics, *viz.*, How the Society of Jesus Began, Bellarmine, and Jesuit's Bark (an account of the discovery of quinine). A concluding chapter studies the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

There is learning in Archbishop Goodier's studies, but no dry-as-dust erudition. They are popular in the best sense of the word.

It may be said that in our own time the Middle Ages have been rediscovered. The labours of many scholars have done away with a mass of misconceptions and have rendered ignorance inexcusable in those who pretend to a higher education. It cannot, however, be said that even yet popular prejudices have been dissipated and to vast numbers of people mediaeval is still a term of contempt. That is why a popular presentation of facts about the Middle Ages is welcome. Such a presentation Dr. Walsh provides in this book. In his homely and unpretentious style he shows us in picture after picture the artistic, intellectual, and literary culture of that much maligned and much misunderstood period.

He has not chosen to depict the darker aspects of mediaeval life, not because he is unaware of them but because his theme is, as his title indicates, the high lights of the Middle Ages. He can safely leave the other aspects to Dr. G. C. Coulton and his like.

That much being understood as to Dr. Walsh's scope, we may turn to the positive information given us in the book. And certainly there is a great wealth of it. There is an opening chapter on five great men of the early Middle Ages—Gregory the Great, Benedict, Boniface,

Charlemagne, and Alfred. This is followed by a chapter on the Irish contribution to early mediaeval culture. Education in its various aspects is dealt with fully in a series of chapters. There are two chapters on the position and the work of women during that period. There are chapters on Bec, Cluny, and the mediaeval cathedrals. Those three great men—Dante, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Francis—are singled out for special study. Dr. Walsh emphasizes his points by ample and effective quotations from a wide range of literature, often non-Catholic. Altogether a valuable and very welcome contribution to popular historical knowledge. S. J. B.

THE LAST LORDS OF ORMOND. By Dermot F. Gleeson, M.A London: Sheed and Ward. 1938. Pp. 285. 7s. 6d. net.

Into one momentous century of modern Irish history this compact volume gives a detailed and even highly concentrated insight. It may be described as a microscopic survey of the close of the centuries of adjustment in Ireland between the Gaelic and essentially permanent racial forces on the one hand and the Norman or 'English' race of ancient habitation on the other, with Puritan swordsmen supervening at the close. The Normans, never fully English, were to be assimilated by the Gael during that 18th century which ensued on Mr. Gleeson's selected period. The Cromwellian landlords, who ruled then and down to 1899 in regional administration and power, included a number of landsharks, like the Percival family, later to be Earls of Egmont; they also comprised a larger set of specimens of those English jobbers in soldiers' land-scrip who, as Mr. Pitt's Lord Clare said in 1800, "poured into the country" at the close of the twelve years' war, 1641–1652, and were "put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants." At each end of the Ormond country which Mr. Gleeson sets under the historical microscope, the Fitz-walter stock, Chief Butlers to the Plantagenet line, at once fixed their great castles of Nenagh and Roscrea, dominating the route towards Limerick. Much of the dramatic interest of the author's text derives from the partial failure of those Butlers, Earls of Ormond, to hold either of these advanced positions against the Gael. Thus the House of O'Kennedy was the dominant landed interest over the Ormond land as late as 1640, even as the House of O'Meagher prevailed against the Butler strength in the adjoining barony of Ikerrin and around the Butler fortress of Roscrea.

The story of the land interests from the Little Brosna to Keeper Hill is here vividly portrayed by a skilled explorer of documents, equally skilled in the humane art of the story, gifted with a fresh combination of Gaelic background, racial and linguistic, with much power of penetration into the complexities of history concerning legal tenures of the

land. The result is a most remarkable study in one century of regional events, in constant contact with and amply illustrative of the main themes of modern Irish history as a whole. To take full advantage of this wealth of lore wrought into the record of the two Ormond baronies that meet at the Castle of Nenagh, maps even more ample in extent than Mr. Kinsella's fine pen-craft has given us would be of advantage to the new generation of Irish students of Irish history. Mr. Gleeson has finely led the way into a fresh unification of general with regional studies in a great subject. The period from 1700 to 1900 will serve to illustrate his important thesis, that the Puritan landlord line was ever in the country of its "settlement," yet never of it save in an infinitesimal measure, a measure illustrated by one or two names of families that "came over" to the Irish side, in creed rather than in the social order. The power of the Lords Palatine, again, had never any hold either on Gael or on Norman once that the Puritan State Prelate of Canterbury, Abbot, got hold of "little Jimmy Butler," orphan grandson of Earl Walter of the Rosary. T. C.

English Literature

THE VOYAGE TO ILLYRIA. A New Study of Shakespeare. By Kenneth Muir and Sean O'Loughlin. London: Methuen. 1937. 7s. 6d. net.

MESSRS. MUIR AND O'LOUGHLIN attempt to discover Shakespeare's personality (that is, his real and not merely his poetic personality) and by its aid to reinterpret the plays. The attempt has been made before, and it can never give altogether satisfactory results; because the process is really a circular one—the personality is deduced from the plays, and then the plays are interpreted by what has been deduced. Can the vicious circle be broken? The writers think it can. We know *something* of Shakespeare's biography; there are certain works—the Sonnets, the Phoenix and the Turtle—which many are agreed in regarding as confessions or autobiography; in the plays certain passages read like self-revelation; finally, the imagery a poet uses has lately been discovered to reveal infallibly the secrets of his mind. Very well: but what we know for certain of the biography is commonplace and therefore almost useless, and anything that might be significant, such as the relations with Southampton, is conjectural; this applies also to the Sonnets; as to passages of self-revelation in the plays, how are we to identify them? and lastly, is not the imagery clue, though for the moment almost universally accepted, in fact wholly valueless?

"Whatever the objectivity of the actual words spoken, the imagery betrays the attitude of the dramatist." Does it? Surely the imagery

is an integral part of the poem, governed by its theme. It has a relation to the poet's personality and experience, but no closer relation than anything else in the poem. In *Romeo and Juliet*, as the authors say, the hopes and despairs of love are constantly spoken of in religious metaphor, as Heaven and Hell. "The reason for this set of images can only be that Shakespeare's religion when he wrote the play was love." But is not the inference rather that love was Romeo's religion, and Juliet's? (The Friar, by the way, knew this well and did not altogether like it). Again, the prevalence of disease imagery in *Hamlet* is noted, "and the only legitimate conclusion we can draw from this is that Shakespeare was disgusted with life. It may be argued that he was studying in *Hamlet* some of the characteristics of the melancholy man, but the imagery reveals that it is Shakespeare himself who is melancholy." But how, it may be asked, could Shakespeare, whether or not his mind was melancholy and diseased, represent Hamlet's in that state without the use of this very imagery?

The authors find the Dark Lady frequently in the early plays. "Hermia is described as an Ethiope and a tawny Tartar. She is another sketch of the inescapable Dark Lady." Perhaps; but perhaps too one of the leading boy actors in the company was dark-skinned. Apart from hints of her, they find that the heroines, before Cleopatra, are unreal and doll-like. At their best they may be splendid, but they are not human and in particular not feminine. "The reason, of course, is that the heroines are not drawn from life, but from an idealization of Southampton." Sir W. Raleigh, praising the subtlety and breadth of Shakespeare's knowledge of feminine instinct, points out that he never makes his heroines altogether of wit and courage (that is, approximately, as these authors would have it), but always adds some touch of femininity. "Celia," he says, "is lightly sketched, yet how demure and tender she is, and how worldly wise. When her cousin complains of the briars that fill the working-day world, she is ready with a feminine moral: If we walk not in the trodden paths, our very petticoats will catch them." In what idealization of Southampton did Shakespeare find touches like these?

The authors ascribe the tragedies (even *Macbeth*) principally to sexual disgust, and find in them a disbelief in feminine virtue. "In Ophelia purity and constancy are offered up on the altar of the poet's dramatic imagination in order to satisfy his disbelief in the virtue of women. Ophelia, Desdemona, Cordelia are all swept down"—for the same purpose. But surely these heroines *show* his belief in womanly virtue; as the heroes, also swept down, show his belief in manly virtue. Tragedy implies not only the destruction of virtue but also its reality. Shakespeare shows not the inevitable doom of virtue but its destruction in particular cases, when, by some weakness, it gives

a chance to fate. In Cordelia not only purity and constancy are destroyed, but also brusqueness and pride; and Ophelia has her fault too.

The authors do not seem to see that each of the successful tragedies is not only a painful problem, but also its solution. Looking for autobiography, they miss the completeness in itself of the work of art. Thus, they say of *Hamlet:* "The problem of delay . . . is an unreal one. That is not the real point of the play, which is about disillusionment." Disillusionment is a state, and a play must concern action; delay is of the order of action, and therefore it is in *Hamlet* the prime interest. The disillusionment is important; but more important is the action of the play, the consequences of the disillusionment.

In *Antony and Cleopatra* the authors find the answer to Shakespeare's sexual problem, and in the luxurious queen his ideal woman. Their reading of it is that Shakespeare is not writing a tragedy in the ordinary sense, but glorifying his heroine and hero; the play might be called All for Love, or the World Well Lost. This is a usual way to read *Antony and Cleopatra* at present, but surely it is mistaken; surely when Philo speaks in the first line of "this dotage of our general's," he speaks the truth. Sublime dotage, but dotage none the less.

Many things are well said in the book, but almost every page will rouse in most readers the same sort of doubts and objections as in the reviewer. The authors have attempted what is perhaps an impossible task. Trying to write the life of the man Shakespeare, we must use short cuts and jump at conclusions, and so falsify; or we must be so vague and hesitant as to justify Arnold's words, written wisely though at twenty-five, "Other abide our question, thou art free." J. J. H.

Medical Ethics

THE CATHOLIC DOCTOR. By Fr. A. Bonnar, O.F.M., D.D. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1938. 7s. 6d.

PRECIS DE MEDECINE CATHOLIQUE. Par Dr. Henri Bon. Paris: Alcan. 1937. 40 fr.

TWENTY years ago Catholic doctors in these islands barely realized that to be Catholic made any difference, beyond the obvious *differentiae* which were two in number and which marked off Catholics from Protestants in all walks of life. Fish on Friday and Sunday Mass were, they felt, all that separated them from their Protestant and agnostic professional brethren. This state of mind, or rather of feeling, was partly due to ignorance, but also to the fact that the main problems which arise in medicine are—or should be—resolved by the principles of Natural Law.

Fr. Bonnar points this out most clearly in connection with the three great questions which have in modern times divided the medical profession into two parties : Euthanasia, Birth Control, and Sterilization. The emergence of these issues has thrown the Catholics on the defensive, and has made them realize at last the singularity of their position as Catholic doctors. The fact is that Catholics are alone to-day in unyielding defence of right reason and the laws of Nature. Isolated members of other religious and non-religious groups do no doubt support them on one or other of the issues. But it is rare to find such support backed by a purely rational statement going back to first principles. Emotion, the vague sentiment of what is and is not becoming, distorts too often the case against birth control and transforms what should be close argument into loud outcry.

It is therefore a real intellectual joy to read Fr. Bonnar's close-packed book of only 172 pages. There is no lack of driving power behind his argument ; but the power is the power of reason, not of emotion. He is, one suspects, too good a scholastic to allow anger to dull the edge of his argument. He is a scholastic also in his full acceptation of the strength of his opponent's case. No difficulty is slurred or neglected, and there is no attempt to base his refutation on doubtful physiological postulates. This is extremely wise ; for if such a refutation fails, as has already happened more than once, the real strength of the Catholic case is obscured by the triumphant victory of our opponents on an ill-chosen field.

Fr. Bonnar wisely begins at the beginning ; his first chapters are a good summary of Catholic apologetics, in which the claims of the Church, the nature of morals, and the distinction between natural and Divine Law are succinctly set forth. At first reading the average G.P. will probably skip rapidly through this section. But he will find, as he goes on, that it saves time in the end to read it thoroughly—especially the passages on the principle of double effect (p. 42) ; for this principle governs a large proportion of the most difficult cases which arise in a doctor's practice. It is, however, a little doubtful if the average doctor is well equipped to follow the clear abstract form of Fr. Bonnar's reasoning. He obviously thinks that medical men have been taught to reason, or at least to follow good reasoning well set out. He may be right, but a careful reading of the medical journals does not encourage one to hope that he is.

The rest of the book deals, in a series of short chapters, with the application of the principles to particular problems. Freudian theory and practice is treated in some detail, and Fr. Bonnar goes very far in his acceptance of the essential points of Freudian doctrine. This, of course, strengthens his position when he shows, in the second chapter on Freudian dogma, where exactly Freud deserts right reason and therefore parts company with Catholic thinkers.

Two wise chapters on scruples and sexual aberrations bring this valuable book to a close. There is also an excellent index, which will greatly facilitate users of the book. There can be no doubt that, used in conjunction with a course of lectures, this book could be an invaluable stand-by for the Catholic doctor in a world which is slowly becoming hostile.

Dr. Henri Bon's work is an attempt to display in outline the entire field of medicine, ancient and modern, in its relation to religion. Unfortunately the wide range of his subject and his uncritical turn of mind have led him to include in his book much that might, with advantage, have been omitted. If you want to know how French seminarists with weak digestions may be fed at a reasonable cost, you will find the information here. You will also find remarks on the Holy Shroud, the miracles at Lourdes and Fatima, the incombustibility of Indian Fakirs, and the reasons why most diseases may be considered to spring from breaches of the Ten Commandments. But unfortunately you will not find on any point sufficient reliable information to enable you to form a valuable independent judgement; even the menus for the seminarist are inadequate.

However, Dr. Bon suggests in his preface that the book may serve as an introduction to a much neglected subject; and there is no doubt that anyone interested in French medico-religious literature will find here extensive bibliographies. There is an index of names cited, but no index of subjects. T. W. T. DILLON

Sociology

RACE. A STUDY IN MODERN SUPERSTITION. By Jacques Barzun. London: Methuen. 1938. 10s. 6d.

M. BARZUN attempts in this exceedingly interesting book to present a "critical history of the Idea of Race in recent times," and his desire is "to show how equally ill-founded are the commonplace and the learned views of race." He confines his attention principally to French writers, who have done more than the writers of other countries to provide a scientific or pseudo-scientific foundation for racial prejudices, in spite of the fact that France has been singularly free of racial persecution. Race feeling has become "a mode of thinking so intertwined with the culture of modern Europe as to constitute an ingrained superstition." Every type of activity—art, politics, science and social reform—has come under its influence. Atrocities and cruelties without number have been committed in its name. And yet, in the opinion of most detached thinkers, it represents nothing but a myth.

M. Barzun has little trouble in showing the numerous inconsistencies

and contradictions of the defenders of racial theories. The science of genetics, upon which racialism is built, is in a state of hopeless confusion, and biologists are in no way agreed about the definition of a race and still less about the identity and distinguishing marks of the different alleged races. The fact is that racial labels are a convenient simplification to cover loose thinking and to provide an excuse for indulging in prejudices which are usually rooted in some selfish or base motive. Racialism is obviously out of harmony with Catholic thought, which teaches that, in spite of innumerable differences, men are members of a single large family and are essentially equal.

Racial fallacies are a potent source of danger to the cause of social reform, because it is no use trying to do anything for people who are "born bad." The relation of the mental and moral qualities to mere physical characteristics is a form of predestinarian pessimism which must lead to despair. All modern scientific research tends to prove that nurture is much more important than nature, and that even the most unpromising material will benefit from a suitable environment. Both those who are infected with the heresy of racialism—and Ireland harbours its own dreams of Celtic superiority—and those who desire to be better instructed for its refutation should read Mr. Barzun's book; the former may be converted, while the latter will certainly be confirmed. M. Barzun displays a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and his bibliography is exceedingly good. G. O'B.

LA POPULATION ALLEMANDE. Par Marcel Dutheil. Paris: Payot. 1937. 25 fr.

Some of the most important events which happen in the world tend to be obscured by the more spectacular, especially in an age when the popular press depends on sensational news to increase circulation. Events in Spain and China have occupied so much space recently in the newspapers that many readers have overlooked an item of news which, though it appeared on a back page without any remarkable headlines, was probably more significant than any episode in either of the two wars. Arrangements have been made, it was stated, for a large number of Italian labourers to be transported to Germany in the near future. This is the first public admission of a fact to which students of population problems have been calling attention for some time, namely that Germany is on the eve of a labour shortage, and is resorting to the encouragement of immigration to make good the dearth of men caused by the fall in the rate of natural increase. At the same time that Irish labour is flowing to England and Polish labour

to France, Italian labour is flowing to Germany. Europe is undergoing a demographic revolution of profound significance.

Opinions differ regarding the probable effects of the new population trends which are everywhere in evidence. M. Dutheil welcomes them without reserve. The great increase in the population of Europe which took place in the nineteenth century was, in his view, productive of two evil consequences. The lowering of the average age of the population increased the capacity of nations to wage war and the emergence of a large proletarian class provided a favourable atmosphere for revolutionary propaganda. In the course of the next twenty years, if present trends continue, the average age of the German population will increase and the standard of living of the working classes will be raised, with the result that the risk of war and of social revolution will gradually disappear. These opinions are shared by some of the most acute students of contemporary European politics, who believe that international tension will grow less as the pressure of population in Germany is reduced. If this forecast be correct, it may be that the risk of war is diminishing year by year, though at the moment of writing it cannot be said that the international tension is growing less.

G. O'B.

Miscellaneous

AND NOTHING LONG. By Ranald MacDonnell. London: Constable. 1938. 8s. 6d.

THE Russian Revolution uprooted Mr. Ranald MacDonnell from his post in the British Consulate in Baku and forced him, in late middle life, back to the jungle-world of temporary jobs and job-hunting in London. Written in another mood, the facts of this autobiography might easily provide a miserable hard-luck story. But the author's optimism never deserts him, and he seems to have adopted Bruce Lockhart's pilosophy, that the art of living consists in being as mobile as possible. In spite of his jaunty assumption that life holds more, if not most, for the " nothings-long " of this world, most of the interest of this autobiography is provided by Mr. MacDonnell's twenty years' residence in Baku. He was an eye witness of the Armenian massacres which frequently disgraced the old town and the equally horrible scenes of Armenian revenge on their Tatar neighbours which followed. His sympathies are with the Armenians, but he knew the leading personalities on both sides and associated freely with them. His memories of Shaoumian, the Armenian Bolshevik leader, are well worth recording in view of the many conflicting accounts of that strange personality still in the air. Shaoumian was the chief of the twenty-six Armenish Commissars ordered to sail from Baku during General

Dunsterville's occupation, and his murder in Krasnovodsk has always been ascribed to British treachery by the Bolsheviks. Mr. MacDonnell declares that he was the last man on the boat before she sailed from Baku and that in his presence General Dunsterville gave orders that the Commissars should sail for Astrachan. This is a small but important point in a very obscure episode.

Few if any towns in Russia experienced so many hectic political changes before the final Bolshevik conquest as Baku. As a British agent Mr. MacDonnell was caught up in the network of intrigue and counter-intrigue fabricated in Baku by White Russians, Armenians, Tatars, Bolsheviks, and the various foreign interventionist groups during the war. He has a good story to tell and tells it with many interesting details. One of the truest boasts of Soviet Baku is that the old bloody strife between Armenian and Turk, Jew and Russian has ceased. All the nationalities now enjoy equal political and cultural rights. The Armenians, the Jews, and several other nationalities consequently have their own schools and theatres, and are developing a vigorous intellectual life of their own. The former segregation in separate parts of the town has also largely broken down, as the fear of attack no longer exists. Jews, Armenians and Russians may be found living peacefully side by side.

Mr. MacDonnell revisited Baku in 1925 as an advisory delegate to the British Trades Union Delegation. His general impression was that the industrial proletariat had gained considerably as a result of the revolution, but rejoiced to find the familiar Russian characteristics as much alive as ever. His old home had been converted into a workman's club; but, as he says, he was spared many pungent memories, for "the change had been complete—there was nothing left on which to hang even a regret. . . . The whole aspect of the town had changed; the cobbled streets were now well paved and the old horse trams had given way to bright yellow electric cars. The sidewalks had been widened and the trees grew along them interspersed with tall electric light standards. All waste ground and open spaces had been transformed into public gardens. Baku, in fact, seemed to be a European town into which an Asiatic population had been imported. On the outskirts model villages for the workers had sprung up and the sandy wastes outside the town and the oilfields had been planted with trees as a check against the constant sand and dust storms." I wonder what has happened to these model villages? I was in Baku in 1937 and I can recall no trace of them. Knowing only post-war Baku, I was disappointed in the reality, as I found it, after so much propagandist boosting. With his pre-war perspective, Mr. MacDonnell's appreciation of what has been done in the town by the Soviet Government is undoubtedly the more correct impression. V. C.

GEOGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By G. H. T. Kemble, Lecturer in Geography, University of Reading. London : Methuen. 1938. Pp. 278. 15s. net.

JUST as the study of History, as a branch of general culture, was in the past century strongly secularised on a political, diplomatic, and military basis, so the liberal study of Geography was over the same period warped and limited, to suit modern industrialism, big business, and manufacturing urbanism. Mr. Kemble's exposition of the historical course of geographical studies will be found a most serviceable instrument in the humanising of this most valuable accessory to general education. It extends from the decline of classical knowledge to the opening years of the sixteenth century ; and perhaps its very best service lies in its sustained association with the later mediaeval thought in universities and their productive writers, with the working sources of " men and manuscripts," who gave and must always give the teacher his materials. The ten pages (82-92) on Albert the Great and Roger Bacon are fully interesting and manifest highly competent scholarship ; and this uniform quality of critical exposition is well maintained in the treatment of such subsidiary authorities as Pierre d'Ailly. The added pages on the geographical knowledge of Dante will attract many readers from outside the fields of Mr. Kemble's subject, and our notable fellow-countryman of the period 800-825 A.D., Dicuil, is repeatedly and appreciatively cited.

The twenty map illustrations, which so richly illustrate Mr. Kemble's scholarly yet business-like narrative, are an academic treasure in themselves and a rare practical addition to the history of academic culture in English publications. The early mapping of the ports of Ireland, prior to the crude maps of English origin, political in their main purpose, has been well treated from Italian sources in learned journals within Ireland itself. The republication, for academic use, of these coastal maps and of cognate diagrams would be a very suitable subject for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Our one regret as to Mr. Kemble's pioneer work, a most notable addition to a fascinating literature, is that its text does not quite reach down to the epoch of the master-mind and hand of Ortelius, whose magnificent portrait is a special glory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp. T. C.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN. A Selection of Latin Texts with a Commentary. Edited by R. W. Moore. London : Methuen. 1938. 6s.

THIS is an exceedingly useful little volume, in which Mr. Moore, who is an assistant master at Shrewsbury school, has collected almost all the available literary texts concerning the Roman province of Britain

from Julius Caesar to the time of St. Patrick. The texts are arranged in strict chronological order, and the notes are short but useful. Tacitus, inevitably, has pride of place among the historians; but the few relevant passages from poets such as Catullus, Horace and an anonymous poet of the Latin Anthology have not been omitted. As the literary traditions fade away in the second and third centuries A.D., the newly-discovered inscriptions, which are here given in their proper chronological order, become more and more important. Mr. Moore has made a wise selection here, and has shown how much can be added to the few stray passages of the *Historia Augusta* from this new source of information. Even the narrative of Tacitus can be supplemented in this way. This book contains, for example, the dedication of a temple by a British prince, Cogidubnus, that has been found in Chichester. Cogidubnus made his peace with Claudius at the time of the invasion, and was allowed to rule the Regni of West Sussex with the remarkable title *rex legatus Aug.* And as recently as 1935 London workmen have unearthed the second half of an epitaph of the Roman procurator, C. Julius Classicianus, whom Tacitus accuses of having plotted the recall of the military governor, Suetonius Paulinus, in 61. Modern critics are more inclined to pay tribute to Classicianus as a very competent civil servant, who warned the imperial government that Paulinus was too high-handed in his suppression of the revolt of Boudicca. There is much more of this kind, and the volume ends with extracts from Bede and Gildas. A. G.

REGARDS CATHOLIQUES SUR LE MONDE. By Dominique Auvergne. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1938. Pp. 147.

This volume of brief interviews, each preceded by a sympathetic biographical sketch, is at once encouraging and instructive; for while the various *témoins clairvoyants* touch on some of the evils and difficulties that beset the Church in France to-day, the eyes of one and all are turned hopefully to the future and they emphasize that *renouveau catholique* which, they believe, will win back the toilers of the industrial regions to the Faith. And so we are given the hopes and aims of laymen as diverse as Claudel and Maritain, Mauriac and Ghéon, Le Roy and Mounier, and of priests as representative as Chanoine Cardijn, founder of the J.O.C., Père Paul Doncoeur, S.J., and Père Forestier of the Scout movement—all linked together by the single aim of reviving the faith throughout France. The volume concludes with the typical words of the Jesuit: "When we have a young generation that is intelligently, socially and humanly Catholic, the future will be splendid." The book is illustrated with admirable full-page photos. V. M. C.

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